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1832

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE THIRD
CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS;
HELD IN LONDON,

AND

**COMPOSED OF DELEGATES FROM THE CO-OPERATIVE
SOCIETIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,**

ON THE 23RD OF APRIL 1832,

**AND BY ADJOURNMENT ON EACH OF THE SIX FOLLOWING DAYS,
SUNDAY EXCEPTED.**



REPORTED AND EDITED, BY ORDER OF THE CONGRESS,

BY WILLIAM CARPENTER.

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THE THIRD CONGRESS OF DELEGATES

FROM THE

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

THIS Congress was held on Monday, April 23d, 1832, at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn Road; and by adjournment on each succeeding day, till the following Monday.

On Monday morning, the Delegates assembled at nine o'clock, and after some preliminary business, Mr. ROBERT OWEN was called to the Chair. The first business was the appointment of Secretaries, to which office the Rev. T. M'Connell, and Messrs. Pare and Styles, were elected.

Mr. LOVETT next reported, that the London Committee, that had been appointed to make arrangements for the business of the Congress, had discharged the duties devolving upon them in the most efficient manner they had been able. Mr. Owen having kindly offered the use of that building for the meetings of the Congress, the Committee, with a view of making the proceedings as interesting and effective as possible, had arranged for holding two public meetings—one on that day, and the other on Wednesday; and also a social festival, on the evening of Friday. They had also drawn up a series of resolutions, which, with the approbation of the Delegates, would be submitted for adoption at the public meetings; with such other measures as they deemed likely to facilitate the business of the Congress. The Report of the Committee was then received by an unanimous vote of the Congress.

Mr. PARE then read the minutes of the last Congress held at Birmingham; but in consequence of some verbal inaccuracies, their adoption was postponed.

The Congress then adjourned its private sitting until seven o'clock in the evening.

FIRST DAY.

MONDAY, APRIL 23, 1832.

PUBLIC MEETING,

HELD IN THE LARGE ROOM OF THE ASSOCIATION
FOR BETTERING THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES,
GRAY'S INN ROAD.

The Rev. Dr. WADE moved, that Mr. OWEN do take the Chair, which was seconded and carried unanimously.

Mr. OWEN then took the President's chair, and after a few moments rose and addressed the meeting as follows:—Gentlemen! As the business we are about to proceed upon is intended essentially for the benefit of all the industrious classes of society, I have to request that you will maintain as much order among yourselves as possible, so that nothing said may be lost; and also that those who speak upon any subject about to be brought forward may be patiently listened to, that you may hear as well the arguments against as those for any measure proposed. This congress is held with a view to recommend competent measures to give effectual and permanent relief to the entire population from their present moral and political difficulties; measures to enable the public to understand how to act, to overcome, or rather to pass out of, the unfavourable circumstances in which they are now placed, and to create for themselves new circumstances, founded upon principles of science, by which a new and superior combination of external arrangements may exist; a combination of arrangements that may be now formed in the shortest possible time for the inhabitants of this country, and that, by their example, all other countries may be equally benefitted. As many of you may be strangers to the simple, practical principles we recommend, I will shortly state to you the foundation of our proceedings; for, unless you know these, your minds must necessarily be in a state of confusion. The wisest men who have lived through all past generations have, after the most particular investigation of human proceedings, come to the conclusion that, to a very great extent, man ever has been, now is, and ever must be, the creature of the circumstances by which he is surrounded. This being the case, the

science which we have to discover and adopt is that which will withdraw and prevent the recurrence of those vicious and unfavourable circumstances which are known to exist; or, if that be impracticable (which I am obliged to conclude), to discover the means by which we may now, or in the shortest time, create new combinations of circumstances, all of which shall have direct reference to the improvement of the human character, physically, intellectually, and morally, to the highest point of perfection, and beneficially for the individuals themselves and for their fellow creatures. These are the outlines of our principles, and upon these the present Congress is about to act. And when the separate measures shall be brought forward by the different speakers, we shall be delighted to hear any thing that may be erroneous detected and made so plain that we must give them up and adopt something more true. We shall not endeavour to establish any thing but that which is proved to be true by all known facts. There will be nothing uncertain in our measures. If what we propose shall not be in accordance with every fact human nature can investigate, we will give it up, because we shall be sure that it is founded in error. You may, therefore, expect to hear nothing recommended by the delegates but that which shall be in strict accordance with every known and well ascertained fact. Having said thus much, I leave it to the gentlemen by whom I am surrounded to say what they have to say, only observing, that I trust the strictest order will be observed, and that every thing will be spoken in the spirit of our system, abjuring all personalities and animosities of every description. Our object is not to divide mankind; they are sufficiently divided already. Our intention and aim is to find out a new mode by which all may be cordially and affectionately united in one common interest.

Mr. WILLIAM LOVETT, a Delegate from the first London Co-operative Society, proposed the first resolution, and addressed the meeting as follows:—In the resolution I have to propose are involved a number of important points; I would therefore hope that wherein I may be deficient in developing and enforcing them, some allowance will be made for an individual who has not had the advantages of a liberal or scholastic education. And, further, that though I may possibly express myself in language somewhat warmer and stronger than the social system would strictly warrant, you will bear in mind that I, too, have been the creature of circumstances, and been subjected to the deteriorating influence of the present wretched state of society. When such strange anomalies and perplexing contradictions are presented to the mind of the anxious and philanthropic inquirer, as every where present themselves in this country, surely it becomes the duty of every lover of his species to awake from his apathy, and make diligent inquiry relative to the causes of the evils, and the remedy that might be

promptly and effectively applied. Nay, we would say to those persons not possessed of feelings of sympathy; to those whose hearts are steeled by selfishness, or blunted by their interests; to those who live *on* man, and not *for* man,—that they too should take warning by passing events, if not for others, for their own safety, lest, I was going to say, the just anger of an oppressed people, like the bursting volcano, sweep them away in the imagined security of their possessions. Surely it is high time for all to inquire, for all to cast their immediate interests aside, when the result of their honest inquiries may save their country from fire and sword, and prevent their unfortunate brethren from preying upon one another. Shall it be said, that we are careless and neglectful, or apathetic, as regards our future fate? When we may look around us and view our country teeming with every necessary of life; when our towns and cities present to the gazing traveller every luxury and ornament that can please the eye or engage the fancy; when the foreigner is struck with astonishment at the vastness of our resources, the extent and ingenuity of our machinery, our arts, and manufactures,—and, above all, with the industry of Englishmen,—every reflecting mind is satisfied, that all these resources could be applied in such manner as to give the greatest amount of happiness to every human being. Yet, with this conviction, does not the heart bleed when the mind reflects, that, amid our fruitful valleys the labouring peasant groans for bread?—that, amid the pomp and splendour of our cities, thousands are perishing for lack of food?—that, in the midst of our ingenious machinery, the meagre countenance and stunted frame indicate premature decay, and their offspring seem born to no other inheritance than that of starving slavery? This, my friends, is no exaggerated picture, drawn to exasperate your feelings,—but an imperfect description of the reality. We ourselves have witnessed scenes, that language will fail us in describing, of the misery and wretchedness of the poor. Do you doubt our assertion? Consult the columns of our daily newspapers, many of which are interested in concealing the truth. Yet there you may daily read of thousands perishing for want, of whole parishes becoming paupers, and of every fifth man in England being dependant on charity for his daily bread;—you may read of mothers whose maternal feelings have led them to cheat their starving children with the appearance of food, having none to give them, until sleep had silenced their cries; of human beings eking out a wretched existence by devouring the weeds of the ocean—of hunger-driving despair, the bitterness of want, starving frenzy—and of the revenge of famine, bringing death and desolation in its train. If you would see for yourselves in order to be convinced you may, if you possess hearts stout enough to witness such scenes of extreme wretchedness, go to the east of this

metropolis, and there, among the weavers, see misery in every stage of existence;—you may see the demon of famine wasting their vitals, while they industriously toil at their looms for sixteen hours daily, without being able to earn sufficient to satisfy the cravings of hunger;—you may, if their honest pride will permit you, see the wretched place in which they repose after their long and unsuccessful toil;—you may go listen to the cries of their famishing children, and enter into the feelings of a parent's heart who possesses not the means of satisfying their hunger;—you may follow them, after a life of toil and misery, or when they possess not the power to labour, to the parish poor-house, where you may see the husband separated from the wife, the child from its mother, and, amid the putrid and noxious atmosphere of fifteen hundred persons, see them literally crammed eight and ten in a bed—the once clean and industrious mechanic breathing his last, beside his feverish and often putrid bedfellow. To sum up this catalogue of wretchedness, you might, a few weeks since, have seen three lying-in women, together with their infants, all in one bed;—this, too, in London, the metropolis of a Christian country, where luxury expends its thousands at a meal, where thousands are daily wasted in profusion—where our Legislature is employed in expending thousands on useless palaces for royalty, splendid barracks for soldiers, and in devising schemes and plans to keep the people in subjection! Such, then, are the scenes of wretchedness, such the condition—nay, tenfold worse than I can describe to you—of unhappy England,—happy in the possession of every thing calculated to render life desirable, unhappy in the manner in which those blessings are distributed. Without, however, wishing to excite prejudice against the individual members of any party,—with no disposition to declaim against any particular measure, however mischievous its apparent tendency,—as we purpose in this meeting at least to pass by the minor effects of the evil, and see if it be possible to trace it to its source; confident, as we are, that, until corruption be probed to the core, no permanent remedy can be found for the miseries and poverty of the people; that neither peace nor happiness can exist.—(Great applause.) Most of the co-operators are of opinion, that the primary cause of the present evils which afflict society is ignorance, both on the part of the governors and the governed. Ignorance on the part of those who have hitherto ruled the destinies of nations, or directed the different departments of states, in believing that the most efficient mode of developing all the natural powers of man, is to put him in a state of rivalry or competition with his fellow-man; and, in holding out to him, at the same time, every specious inducement of riches, glory, power, and pre-eminence, to urge him on to outstrip his brother, who, failing in the pursuit, must be subjected to disappointments, poverty,

shame, and derision. These rulers of the world never for a moment enquired whether those individuals in their active and bustling pursuits enjoyed happiness or not. They never for a moment seemed to consider the cares and anxieties attendant on this race; they cared not for the heart-burnings, the jealousies, and the contentions produced by this competitive race; they thought not of the present or the future consequences. No; blindly believing that they had discovered the grand stimulus to action by a system of rewards and punishments, they framed all their political and social institutions accordingly. Hence, the result of this competitive spirit is apparent in the great inequality we perceive around us—in the extremes of poverty and riches that exist;—hence the conflicting passions that distract mankind;—hence our numerous codes of laws to punish, our privileges and distinctions to reward. Power and riches once acquired by this selfish and competitive spirit, have been transmitted downward from father to son, and the man of wealth and privilege seems resolved to perpetuate his power, though millions be daily sacrificed to effect it. Thus this struggle for pre-eminence, combined with the natural temperament of man, has secured the power and despotism of the few, and at the same time has been productive of the poverty and wretchedness of the many. Many persons, I know, entertain the opinion, that to the selfish, cunning, and rapacious feelings of men are to be attributed despotic power and corrupt legislation. But we ask, are not those feelings the result of the primary cause, Ignorance; and are they not perpetuated to the present moment by the same mistaken notion of the nature of man? We are, from having a spirit of emulation and ambition instilled into our minds from infancy, pleased with the competitive strife of the men of wealth or ambition. We perceive men spring up from our own rank, and struggling onward in the bustling pursuit of wealth and distinction, we approve of the inequality and despotism they engender, by the conviction, or rather the mistaken notion, in our own minds, that they are pursuing the honest path of competitive enterprise,—or, if perchance we murmur at their progress, it is from envy or regret that we possessed not the same talent or ability. Thus, while we ignorantly believe that this conflict is favorable in order to develop the natural powers of man, and seem careless of those sacrifices of comfort, happiness, and peace of mind which are thereby occasioned, we shall ever have inequality, poverty, despotism, and corrupt legislation. Thus then, from this mistaken opinion, we co-operators conceive that our present evils have emanated, and that from the ignorance of the multitude they are perpetuated; and though we believe changes may be made in the legislature and the laws, progressing towards a better sys-

tem, yet at the same time we feel confident that, until arrangements are made for placing men in a situation to work with, instead of against, each other, and rendering our productive powers of general utility, and for the cultivation of the social virtues, the condition of the working classes will not be permanently improved, under any form of government that can possibly be devised. Let me not be misunderstood. I have said changes may be made, progressing towards a better system. But under the best forms of government that have ever existed, I ask you, has happiness been the lot of the multitude? On the contrary, the spirit of competition I have alluded to, has rendered the industry and happiness of the *many* subservient to the luxury and dissipation of the *few*. It has engendered domestic broils, rivalry, and jealousy in the social circle, contentions in trade and commerce, war between nations, and, ripening into ambition, has caused your Alexanders, your Cæsars, your Napoleons, to sacrifice to their frenzy, millions of the human race. Nay, when peace has blessed the land, and when the laws have rendered the fruits of industry secure, even then how small a portion of human happiness has existed, commensurate with the means, if rightly directed. The husbandman and the tradesman rise with the sun to toil in the morning, and think themselves happy in resting from their labours when it descends below the hills of the west. The distributor of wealth, and the man of commerce, are alike subject to the cares of conflicting interests and repeated losses, and there are few to be found whose hearts respond in unison when the hand of friendship is shaken. In fact, hitherto, life at best has been but one of toil, of care, and of discontent. And in this country, blessed as it is with the means of happiness, such has been the lamentable effects of the competitive system, that, while we have progressed beyond any other nation in our machinery and powers of production, it has engendered such passions, poverty, and misery, that, with all the power and knowledge we possess, moral and religious, directed towards checking the progress of crime, it has increased tenfold within these few years. This fact, which all must acknowledge, affords one of the strongest proofs in favour of what I have been contending for; it ought also to convince us, that in vain will be our precepts of morality and religion, while we suffer man to strive with man for his daily bread, and with the power of machinery, which needs neither meat, drink, nor clothing. Competition, therefore, my friends, has generated those selfish feelings, partial laws, corrupt legislation, and coercive measures which have given birth to our debt and enormous taxation; which, again, coupled with our new powers of production, have brought things to their present crisis. I know there are persons who differ with us respecting the influence of machinery

and the powers of production. The Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge has endeavoured to prove that the results of machinery are cheap productions and increased employment. Now, we are willing to admit that it has cheapened production; but, before we proceed to laud this benefit, we should proceed a step further, and inquire what the great bulk of the people have gained by this cheapness? This question will be best answered by asking, what forms the chief expenditure of every poor family? Does it not consist in rent, taxes, fuel, and victuals; none of which can be said to be influenced by machinery, if we except fuel. I ask, then, have not rents doubled within these few years? have not taxes increased tenfold within the last fifty years? and have not corn and the staple commodities of life, so far from becoming cheaper, become dearer? The only benefit, then, of this cheapness will be found in a few articles of clothing and bedding; and, if the workman's wages be reduced one half (which has been the case in the silk, cotton, and woollen trades, as well as other trades in proportion,) how, we ask the Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge, are the people benefited by this cheapness? They further say that machinery has given increased employment. Now, if this were true, we should think that, in proportion to its increasing power, so would the population of this country be beneficially employed. I know they attempt to get over this, by saying, that the number out of employment is to be attributed to an over-population. Let us try to expose this fallacy. We have, in this country, a moving power, through the medium of steam engines alone, equal to 600,000,000 of men, which power, according to the best calculations, can be managed by 36,000 men. Our means for producing cotton thread has increased in the ratio of 130 to 1, within the memory of the present generation. The persons employed in this branch alone, are about 200,000, and if they were allowed to produce as much as they are enabled to do, or if there was a demand for it, either at home or abroad, they could supply a population of 30,000,000 of persons. It is true, we have been supplying, in a great measure, Russia, Germany, and America with cotton web and twist; but they, too, are now introducing machinery into their country, with our practical and experienced workmen to direct it. Thus you must see that every foreign machine that is erected will have a tendency to throw English workmen out of employment. Again, there are about 60,000 water and power looms in this country, which can produce a sufficient quantity of cloth to employ a population of 77 millions. These are only a few of our productive powers. In addition to these, the press is daily giving publicity to new inventions and improvements, all tending to supersede manual labour. Will you say, then, after this, that any little reduction of taxation, such as the mere repeal of the corn laws, will promote a sufficient de-

mand, either at home or abroad, to give employment and good wages to the great number now out of employment, when such is the power of those machines to produce? Not that we are apologists for monopoly or taxation, or that we do not think they have accelerated our present distress; but we would wish you to look beyond these evils to a greater one, that of machinery, and our productive powers, under individual arrangements. You will find, upon mature reflection, the fallacy of believing that the removal of taxation or the abolition of monopolies, alone, will relieve your distresses. All that prevents at present the increase of machinery is, there being no demand for its productions: create but this demand, by the repeal of those laws, or by any other cause, and you will immediately, not only set in motion the machinery that is now idle, but also the great amount of unemployed capital in the erection of new machines, new inventions, and improvements. The question, then, as to the cause of the great numbers now out of employment being occasioned by our productive improvements, or by the increase of population, seems a simple one. Our powers of production (that is to say, our machinery and inventions) have increased in these few years at least 80 fold, above the power we previously possessed; and the population of England and Wales has only doubly increased within the last 80 years. Can the power that has increased eighty-fold, then, be cause of the evil, or that which has increased only two-fold? Surely it is that of eighty-fold. Do we mention these things, my friends, to excite your feelings against machinery? No; on the contrary, we are only anxious to impress on your minds its tendency to augment your evils under its present arrangement, and the great blessing it would be to man to adopt the system which Mr. Owen has proposed. Thus, I have endeavoured to show you the cause of the present evils of society; I have shown, unless I have failed in the attempt, that the competitive strife between man and man has generated the worst passions of our nature; that, under the present system, it is the interest of one tradesman to ruin another; that it is the interest of the lawyer to see men tearing each other to pieces, or if they are peaceable, to set them by the ears; that it is the interest of the doctor that men should be ill—of the parson, that men should be wicked, and consequently our boasted civilization and refinement does not augment the happiness of the human race. In fact, I conceive men would be much happier in a state of nature. The Society which I have named, have said much in their works respecting savage life, and savage manners, and uncultivated nature—and have extolled with complacency the merits of our civil institutions; but humanity and justice will tell them that the contrast mocks us. What! will you compare the brawny savage bounding over the plains (free, at least, to participate in the bounties which

nature has thrown around him) with the half-starved inmates of our factories, or the unhappy peasant, shut out from every spot of ground, and on which he dares not set his foot without the risk of a prison? Nay, even when with toil and anxiety he produces comforts, they are too often snatched from his children and given to strangers; and, labour failing him, every natural avenue is barred against him, and he is turned into the wilderness to starve! Surely, when such scenes of wretchedness exist, the wished-for object to every sensitive and reflecting mind is to remedy those evils, and to unite human beings of all ranks, creeds, professions, and occupations; to place the rich in a situation where their physical and moral energies shall be called into action to produce health, pleasure, and contentment—where they shall be free to bask in the sunshine of happiness, secure and unapprehensive of the clouds, the cares, the alarms to which they are now subjected—a situation where the *ennui* of sloth, the jealousies of rank, or the frenzy of ambition shall be unknown. To place the poor and honest children of industry in situations where, with equal advantages of knowledge, and leisure to pursue the delights of art and nature—where the impressions of love, sympathy, and affection shall form the mind, make glad the heart, and light up the face with joy; a union wherein the selfish feeling shall be sacrificed to the social weal—when all for each, and each for all, shall make of this world of cares and anxieties a terrestrial paradise. Surely, the moralist or divine can never conceive it to be compatible with the arrangements of art or nature, that the extremes of wealth and wretchedness which now exist in this country can be desirable, can be natural. No, my friends; we have yet to learn the correct basis of social happiness, and to found a superstructure thereon differing in every respect from the one which has been productive of so much evil. Co-operators, however, conceive that the basis and theory of so desirable an object, as well as some practical steps towards its attainment, have been submitted to mankind by the Governor of this Institution, and all that is requisite to put it into practice is a general knowledge of its merits. It has been said by those who condemn without inquiry, or whose interests have dulled their understandings, that it is Utopian and visionary: but, in answer to such persons, we may point to the practical experiments that have already been made in support of what they call visionary. Has not Mr. Owen shown how circumstances operate in the formation of the infant character in his infant schools? Has he not shown how a vicious population can be improved by well-selected circumstances, in his experiment at New Lanark? Has he not shown the benefits of communities and social unions in his accounts of New Harmony? In fact, he seems to have

produced conclusive proof for almost all he has contended for. It may be asked, when can we hope to realise this? When shall that delightful period arrive, when we shall find a people animated with one heart and one soul? We answer, When the voice of reason is heard, and those who possess power are disposed to listen to her warning voice, or in despite of their obstinacy, when the wild ebullitions of an injured people shall have swept away the rubbish of ages, and cleared the political arena. Then will the widely-scattered rays of useful knowledge be collected into one focus; then will the gem of truth be polished by philosophy, and its cheering beams be diffused without obstruction among mankind; then will the sons and daughters of industry, who are now bowed down with incessant toil, bearing on their haggard cheek the cares of penury and want, soon learn to estimate its blessings, and practise its precepts. They will then no longer submit to the frowns of headstrong greatness or assumed sanctity; they will then no longer be subservient to the imperious will of a master; but, taught by experience, they will learn to sacrifice their selfish feelings to the social welfare of society, and to learn that real happiness is only to be found when, with united industry, they cultivate the earth, and enjoy the benefits in common.

Mr. JOHN FINCH, a Delegate from the First Liverpool Co-operative Society, seconded the Resolution, and spoke as follows:—Mr. Chairman, brother Delegates, and Friends! after the very able speech which you have already heard upon this Resolution, nothing more can be said, perhaps, to recommend it to your notice. The Delegate by whom it was moved has said much upon the distress of the labouring classes, under the present competitive state of society; I shall therefore abstain from all remarks upon that topic, and offer a few remarks upon the existing distress of the commercial class. I have lately been in Ireland, travelling from Belfast to Dublin, visiting the intermediate towns; and I assure you, that in every place the state of commercial affairs is represented to be most deplorable. All men with whom I conversed upon the subject, concurred in stating that the situation of commercial persons during the last three or four months had been much worse than had been known for fifty years past. There has been scarcely any business done, and what little has been transacted has been productive of no profit. But these are merely general statements; every man knows his own business best, and as we are matter-of-fact people, I shall state to you a fact or two relative to that branch of commerce of which I know the most; namely, the iron trade. In reference to that trade, I can state to you most truly, that in all the sales made in that article, for some time past, scarcely any profit has been realised

Nay, such is the state of competition, that it is with great difficulty the first cost of the article can be obtained. Nor is it any better with the manufacturers of the article. I mention this branch of trade for two reasons; the first, because I am the best acquainted with it; the second, because it furnishes an index to the state of trade in general. When the iron trade is brisk it is a proof that other trades are also brisk, for almost every other trade consumes more or less of iron. The greater the quantity of this consumed, therefore, the more prosperous must be the state of trade in general. The accounts received in Liverpool, from persons in every part of the country, is of the same melancholy description. Trade is every where in the most depressed and distressed condition; and commercial men, in consequence, in circumstances of the greatest difficulty. As this is the first Resolution, and this the commencement of the third Congress of Co-operative Societies, it may not be amiss to state a few of the objects for which we have met together, and also to address a few words to my brother Delegates on the business before them.

We have met, in the *first* place, then, to receive information as to the progress which the new views of society have made in the kingdom. *Secondly*, to ascertain how far the people are prepared to act upon those views. *Thirdly*, to enquire what has been already done to realise them in practice. *Fourthly*, to point out and adopt the most practicable mode of bringing these principles of the social system into full operation, and extend them in the most efficient manner. Nothing can be of greater importance than that we should have clear and distinct notions of the first principles of our system; I shall therefore, in a few words, set before you what I conceive to be the first principles of the co-operative system, or new science of society, proposing the happiness of the human race.

1. Our great principle is, that man is the creature of circumstances; or, as Mr. OWEN expresses it, that his character is formed *for* him, and not *by* himself; that his character and conduct, from the cradle to the grave, depend on the circumstances in which he is placed. If this principle be right, all our principles are so; it may be necessary, therefore, to say a few words upon it. And yet the principle is so generally acknowledged, that this might be deemed superfluous. All men acknowledge the principle as a general truth; although all do not carry it to the extent that we do. They admit that if you "train up a child in the way he should go, when he is old he will not depart from it:" and what is this but the doctrine that man is the creature of circumstances. Form his character in early life by favourable circumstances, and he will

grow up a wise and virtuous being. All acknowledge the truth of our doctrine to this extent; and the number of those who go all the length with us is daily increasing.

2. Another of our principles is, that the great end of all government, and of all national institutions, ought to be the greatest happiness of the greatest number.
3. Another principle is, that labour directed by knowledge is the source of all wealth, and that these, assisted by capital and machinery, are capable of deluging the earth with all the necessaries, comforts, elegancies, and refinements of the most civilized society.
4. In the next place, we believe that the reasons why mankind do not attain the possession and enjoyment of this state of society are, that the energies of the industrious are misdirected, or not brought into operation at all; and that great numbers are living upon the industry of others, without giving any equivalent to society in return.
5. Another principle is, that all interest of money, all rent of land, all salaries without services, all unnecessary government expences, and all other modes of living without personal labour, either mental or bodily, is so much taken from the earnings of the industrious; is unjust in principle, and ought to be put an end to.
6. In the next place, that notwithstanding the truths just enumerated, the injustice involved in the existing departures from them is not chargeable on any individual member of society, as such, but to the system under which we live; and, therefore, that no individual ought to be deprived of the least fraction of property which he or she possesses; but that the industrious ought to take such measures as will secure to them capital, machinery, and land of their own, and thus render the assistance of the idle unnecessary, and compel every member of society to become useful.
7. Again, that every employment in which men may be engaged is valuable, and every member of society, is respectable, reverend, honourable, and right honourable, exactly, and only, in proportion to the necessity and usefulness of the labour in which he or she may be engaged.
8. Another principle is, that society may and ought to be so constituted, that every new discovery in science and improvement in machinery shall multiply comforts, increase wealth, and lessen toil; so that, ultimately, there should be no more labour wanted than is necessary for the healthful exercise of every member of society.
9. Lastly, that these principles can be fully developed only in a state of community, conducted and governed on the principles of united capital, labour, and expenditure of an equality of rights, and of the means of enjoyment.

Now, these may be considered as the first principles of the co-operative system. And, let me ask, is there any thing visionary in them? I appeal to the understanding of every one upon this point. I ask whether there be any thing really impracticable in the principles and measures I have enumerated? On the contrary, are they not easily to be brought into practice? As I said before, there are four subjects upon which the Congress is about to enter.

1. To inquire what progress our principles have already made. Upon this point I may remark, that their progress within the last twelve months has exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its warmest and most enthusiastic advocates. That man is the creature of circumstances is now almost universally acknowledged. The best writers in the newspapers and other publications of the day, as well as some of the most eloquent preachers in the religious world, have fully and expressly admitted this principle, as well as another of our fundamental maxims; namely, that the great end of all social institutions is, or ought to be, the greatest happiness of the greatest numbers. The important truth that labour, directed by intelligence, is the source of all wealth, is every where assented to; and that other fact, that every employment is honourable in proportion to its usefulness, has recently been beautifully illustrated in a little work on Political Economy, by Miss Harriet Martineau. In fact, all our principles are making the most rapid progress in different parts of the kingdom.

2. In the next place, how far are people prepared to act upon these principles? The progress that has been made in acting upon these principles has not been so rapid as the progress of the principles themselves. But the diffusion of knowledge is the first thing. There have been societies formed in various parts of the kingdom, called Trade Unions, or Co-operative Societies; the object of which is to unite their members in the attainment of knowledge, and also to obtain possession of capital. The first proposed object of these Unions has been realised. Large numbers of persons, chiefly of the working classes, have been brought together, and united in one common bond of interest and affection. But I am sorry to say, that some of them have failed in the other object of their association; that is, the attainment of capital. I shall enumerate some of the causes, as I have observed them, of this failure. The first cause has been a want of union and active co-operation amongst the members. They have neglected their meetings, failed to make themselves properly and familiarly acquainted with the principles and proceedings of their society, and left the management of their concerns to a few individuals. Another cause of this failure has been the existence of a spirit of selfishness amongst them—a spirit which has been engendered in some degree, perhaps, by these socie-

ties themselves. Shop-keeping has no tendency to improve either their principles or their morals. In the next place, there has been a general neglect of business on the part of the members. They have not carefully audited their accounts, diligently looked after the purchases made for them, or superintended and regulated their stock. Another cause has been the members not dealing at their own stores. It was not to be expected that the trading societies should answer their ends, if the shop were deserted by its own proprietors. Another difficulty attending these societies, and which has tended to render them sometimes abortive, is the great responsibility that attaches to the trustees, whilst there is no bond of union with the members. The trustees take upon themselves the responsibility of paying all accounts, and answering all demands upon the society. The members, on the other hand, take upon themselves no responsibility; and if the society should be found unprosperous they walk themselves out, leaving the trustees with all the responsibility and a losing concern. The incapacity or dishonesty of store keepers or managers, has also been a cause of loss and failure.—But upon this topic I shall not now enlarge.

3. What are the most practicable means of bringing our views and principles into operation? What is it that we want for this purpose? We want labour, knowledge, virtue, capital, and land. Of labour there is, as we have been told by Mr. Lovett, a superabundance. Knowledge is the next thing we want; and though this has been greatly increased within a few years past, we are still in want of much more. What then should we do to promote a more general diffusion of knowledge? Let us, as a body, apply to the legislature to extend the benefits of national education to England as well as to Ireland. The system introduced into that country is on a most liberal scale, but we want one for this country even more liberal than that. We want the people to be instructed in every branch of useful science and knowledge. Let us then call upon our liberal and enlightened government—a government more deserving of the confidence of the people than any government we have had for many years;—let us call upon them to confer upon us a national system of education, conducted upon such liberal principles, and diffusing knowledge in such copious streams, that every member of society—from the highest to the lowest—shall consider it to be the greatest privilege he can enjoy to be permitted to send his children to a national school. Let them be boarding schools wherein the children of the whole population may be received from their mothers' breasts, and be fed, clothed, and instructed in all necessary and useful knowledge. I would have the schools divided into two classes; the one for infants; the other for children of more advanced years. To the schools

for the latter, there should be attached land, and each child should have competent instruction in the cultivation of the soil, as well as in the various branches of handicraft and manufacturing employment. They should provide their own food, and make their own clothes. These schools would fully support themselves, and by their means the whole population would be trained up in, or be prepared for, a perfect state of community. In conclusion, I would guard you against one thing, I mean religion. I do not think that we ought at all to meddle with this, in our proceedings here ; and I am therefore sorry when I hear persons declaim against the religion of the country. The principles of Co-operation are more in accordance with the principles of the Gospel, than are those of any other sect in existence. Both systems enjoin as paramount the principles of love to God and our neighbour. Is not this the sum and substance of religion ?

Mr. MANDLEY, a Delegate from the Manchester Council for the Diffusion of Co-operative Knowledge, supported the resolution, and corroborated some of the statements of Mr. LOVETT relative to the distressed condition of the labouring classes. Of that district in particular, whence he came, he could speak with the greatest confidence, but language would fail to describe the destitution and wretchedness of thousands of the weavers and cotton manufacturers. The spirit of patriotism frequently impelled us to talk of the wealth, the intelligence, and the happiness of our country ; but, alas ! we never in such moments thought of the situation of the producers of all our wealth. Something had been said of the heart-burnings, and jealousies, and envyings, which were the fruit of the present anomalous state of society ; and to these he would add the vice and immorality it necessarily produced. In the cotton mills, in and about Manchester, males and females, from the tender age of five or six years, to the most protracted period at which they possessed sufficient physical strength to labour, were mixed together in large masses ; and the consequence was a most frightful daily increase of crime. He would it should be known, as the result of this system, that in Manchester there were more cases of bastardy than in any other country in the world. It was no uncommon thing to see on a Thursday, at the Sessions House, at Salford, fifty females who had to affiliate children. In fact, whether he looked to the country or to the metropolis, to one species of crime or to another, the state of the national morals was frightful in the extreme. And all this was to be traced to the inequality in the condition of mankind. The majority of them were cut off from all sympathy with their fellow-creatures. They had no character to lose. For them radical reform would be unproductive of good. It was by the reception of knowledge and truth, and by this only, or by this combined with a participation of a moderate share of the comforts

of life, that such persons as these could be raised from the degraded and wretched condition in which they were now sunk. And how was this desired object to be achieved? By the means developed and illustrated by Mr. OWEN. In the town of Manchester, he rejoiced to say there were many young and respectable men wedded to the doctrines of Mr. OWEN, and resolved, at the cost of any sacrifice or privation, to carry them into practical effect. It had been justly said, that notwithstanding we possessed all the requisite means for promoting the happiness of mankind, there were thousands of the industrious population in a state of starvation. Was that any wonder, when the state of trade and commerce was looked into? He himself knew a case, where an individual came to the gentleman in whose employment he (Mr. M.) then was, and offered a large quantity of goods to be shipped off to New York, at one half the price they cost in the manufacture. This was called shipping on consignment; and truly it consigned thousands to the most abject poverty and wretchedness. Many of the poor workmen who were employed in the manufacture of these goods were destitute of a blanket to cover them, and had even been obliged to beg from door to door, to procure the means of subsistence. They were now unemployed. Was there no demand for the articles they could produce? Surely there was, if necessity constituted a demand; but as there was no disposable capital, there was no commercial demand.

The latter part of the Resolution stated that "the fearful extent of pauperism and crime afford lamentable proofs either that a state of civilization and refinement does not augment the happiness of the human race, or that we have yet to learn the correct basis of social policy, and to erect a superstructure thereon, differing in every respect from the one that is productive of such contradictions and anomalies."

He thought all would agree, that pauperism and crime abounded to a fearful extent, and that if government was instituted for the happiness of the community, they had been proved to have been incapable of promoting their object. This brought him to enquire whether it were possible to devise means which should effectuate this object. He thought those means had not now to be devised. They had been formed and developed, and it only now remained to act upon them. They had been proposed by Mr. OWEN, and their peculiarity and excellence was, that they would be productive of the interest of every man; making the happiness of each the happiness of all. The object they proposed, however, was not attainable in large and densely populated cities, but only in moderately sized communities, where the circumstances might be so formed as to be favorable to the production of the highest intellectual, moral, and physical character. They might not be able, in such communities, to guard against all "the ills that

flesh is heir to," in the shape of physical infirmity and disability; but they could avoid much of what men now suffered, and the sufferings of the afflicted would be soothed by those around them, for they would all love each other.

Mr. FOSLETT also spoke in support of the Resolution. One of the previous speakers, he remarked, had dwelt upon the importance of the education of the people, and he (Mr. R.) believed that must be the basis of the new system. The Delegate to whom he referred, however, had said that the Government should confer upon us a liberal and efficient plan of education, and had even gone so far as to express a belief that they would do so, were they asked for the boon. As soon, however, could he believe that the sun would melt the rocks, and dry up the rivers, as that men whose minds had been formed as their's had, would give any such thing. Well, then, let the working classes, the only practically useful portion of society do it for themselves. But how could they do it? By union, after this manner.—Let societies endeavour to put themselves into possession of land, and this they might do, even at a rental which they would not find it difficult to pay. Let them then set their unemployed members to work, in the labour of cultivation, and let another portion of them be engaged in producing such manufactured articles as were in immediate demand by the rest of the members. Let them also introduce the use of labour notes; and thus, without the intervention of money, which was by no means necessary, exchange the produce of each other's labour. In this way they would soon acquire capital, which consisted, not in gold and silver, but in all the materials of workmanship and the implements of trade, as well as in the skill, ingenuity, and industry of the workmen. Having possessed themselves of the means of producing wealth, let them refuse to supply the other classes of society: he recommended that, not from any bad feeling, but from principle. Until they did that, they would remain degraded, destitute, and despised, as they were, and ever had been; but that plan once adopted, they would become prosperous and respected by the other two classes of society, whom they might then take by the hand, and introduce into all the enjoyments of their social family. He concluded by reiterating his belief, that it was, thus in the power of the labourers to regenerate society; to make man a machine in which intellect should be the main spring and benevolence the ruling passion.

The Chairman then read the resolution: "That with all the boasted attainments of Englishmen, in literature, the arts, and the sciences; with all our improvements in agriculture, manufactures, and the powers of production—the affecting scenes of misery daily witnessed, together with the unheard of privations that exist among the industrious classes of the United Kingdom, as well as the present state of our trading and commercial

pursuits; and, above all, the fearful extent of pauperism and crime; afford lamentable proofs, either that a state of civilization and refinement does not augment the happiness of the human race, or that we have yet to learn the correct basis of social policy, and to erect thereon a superstructure differing in every respect from the one that is productive of such contradictions and anomalies."—Carried unanimously.

The Rev. Mr. MARRIOTT, of Warrington, moved the second Resolution, and addressed the meeting as follows:—Sir: the resolution which I hold in my hand is not confined to any class or party, to any sect or denomination of our fellow-creatures; it extends to the whole of the human race. We, as Co-operators, as friends to our fellow men, do not come here as levellers; we do not come here to deprive any human being of any of his or her property, or of any sacred privilege which belongs to him or her as a man or woman, or as an accountable agent. Nor have we come here merely to advocate the greatest happiness of the greatest number; but to advocate the greatest happiness of all;—men, women, and children, throughout the universe. In fact, when we consider how men are constituted, what is their peculiar organization; and farther, that they are surrounded with circumstances over which they have no control; when we consider these things, we must say, as rational beings and as Christians, that we ought to look upon men of all ranks and conditions, not with enmity, not with bitterness, but with love; with that holy and benign spirit which actuated the founder of our religion, and which also actuated the great First Cause when he made us what we are. Is it not then extraordinary that any of our fellow creatures should be found to advocate principles in opposition to these? What can we or they discover in ourselves to induce a belief that we are superior creatures to any other portion of the human race; that we ought to be filled with knowledge, to have our intellectual powers cultivated, and enjoy all the advantages of Divine Providence, in the food we eat, the raiment we wear, and the habitations in which we dwell, saying to others who are less favoured, "Stand aside, for we are holier than thou?" If it could be proved that lord and peasant, bond and free, were natural and necessary distinctions, then, indeed, I would admit that one portion of the community should not enjoy the pleasures of independence, the blessings of knowledge, the benefits of Divine Providence,—in fact, none of the pleasures which their natures are capable of enjoying. But this is inconceivable, and it is therefore one of the fundamental principles of co-operation to embrace all ranks and conditions of men. This is the object of the resolution which I hold in my hand:—"That the paramount object of all our social arrangements should be to add, by every combination of means, to the happiness of every mem-

ber of the community ; and to abstract the least possible from his personal independence, instead of that which has hitherto been our mistaken policy, to keep in ignorance, and thus destroy the happiness of the many in order to increase and most injuriously administer to the luxuries of the few."—How is it that men have acted so opposite to these principles ? It arises in this country from the feudal system. From that military state which was the foundation of the feudal system, we may trace all the existing distinctions between man and man, and discover how it is that for centuries one class of men have been incessantly striving to pull down another. Need you be told, that when William the Conqueror came over here, he divided the land among his chieftains, and that these in their turn divided them amongst the soldiers who were dependant upon them ? Need you be told, that afterwards, in consequence of the Crusades and other circumstances, these lands were transferred into the hands of other individuals, still, however, of the aristocratic party ; and that they have from that time perpetuated the descent of the land in their own families by the law of primogeniture and other legislative measures ? This has given them an almost exclusive enjoyment of the bounties of Providence, and has produced the worst evils in society at large. But this state of things must not—cannot continue. If we believe in an all-ruling Providence—if we believe that men are the creatures of circumstances—and that we can find out the means by which the unfavourable circumstances in which men have been placed can be altered, and their character raised, as it were, from human to divine ; if we believe these things, then we must see most plainly that the present condition of society cannot remain. The reverend gentleman then illustrated the doctrine of the influence of circumstances on the human character, by referring to the diversified customs and habits of the various inhabitants of the globe. These were the result of circumstances, and while the circumstances remained unchanged, the human character would continue as it was. He then continued :—But in judging of our own state of society, men are apt—too apt—to conclude it is good, merely because they find that others which differ from it are bad. They pronounce our institutions to be correct, because they find others from which it differs to be incorrect. But let us enquire whether we have not some absurd and mischievous customs and institutions among ourselves ; whether, in fact, the same errors with regard to social science and enjoyment are not here also. If you do this, rest assured you will come to the conclusion, that no state of society can be more unnatural than ours,—a state of society in which the labourers, who produce every thing, are in a state of abject poverty ; and where the idlers who do nothing

either mental or physical, are, without any fault of their own, —enjoying all the bounties of Providence. But we have nothing more to do than change the unfavourable circumstances in which men are placed ; to allow them to act up to the dictates of their nature, when they will love each other as brethren, and thus realise the fundamental principle of all sound philosophy and religion. Hitherto we have contented ourselves with teaching ; but men cannot be changed by precept merely : they must have institutions adapted for the purpose. And these are communities, which will remove all temptations to crime, and afford every inducement to virtue. Can there, then, be a more holy cause than this ; and is it not truly astonishing that we have not more ministers of religion coming forward to promote its interests ? I love the ministers of all sects and denominations, and wish most sincerely, that all of them would unite to preach our doctrines. They would thus do more for the spread of truth than they can possibly do by all other teaching.

Mr. WIGG, delegate from the Kingsland Society, seconded the resolution, and spoke as follows :—Sir, Having been in the co-operative world for some years, labouring in the good cause, when I could scarcely recognize a fellow workman who understood his principles, it gives me peculiar pleasure to witness an assembly like this listening to my present fellow labourers—

Oh ! happiness, thou pleasing charm,
Where is thy substance found ?
Incessant sought by every tribe,
Through earth's capacious round.

Where is this object to be attained ? In the happiness of the greatest number, say some of our friends :—"the happiness of the greatest number, exclaims the sage philosopher and the profound politician ; but "THE HAPPINESS OF ALL," say we, and our resolution, and the philanthropic founder of the new system. And if the system did not make the most ample provision for this, I should hold it to be most imperfect and defective.—The great end of society is to protect those who are not able to protect themselves. It has been said, that men in a state of barbarism are in some respects possessed of more liberty than those in a state of civilization, inasmuch as they are not bound by any human laws. The herbage of the earth, the trees with their foliage and plentiful fruit, are free for all without distinction. The birds that wing their way through the air—the animals that roam upon the earth—the fishes of the waters, are all at their command, and free for their use ; while in England—happy England—we are pestered with game laws and property laws of every description ; and in various places we are gratified with placards, informing the excluded that man-traps and spring guns are placed to keep them off. Why, my friends, the squirrel is allowed to

crack nuts, and the worms to riot luxuriously in the earth: "the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man hath not where to lay his head." Man in a savage state, however, has wants which he is unable to supply with certainty or regularity. He has a very partial knowledge of language, and a still more imperfect knowledge of chemistry—of the peculiar properties of the materials which lie scattered around him, and the purposes to which they may be applied. He has no knowledge of mechanical skill, and is consequently very weak. He knows not the causes of the various phenomena which he observes, and is therefore very superstitious. He has no knowledge of the primary laws of human nature, and consequently knows not how to treat a fellow being. He is selfish, vicious, vindictive, and destructive. Now, the great object of society is to remove those evils to which man is subject in a state of barbarism, without detracting from the freedom of the expression of his opinion; indeed, without infringing his freedom in any respect. If this, then, be the great object of society, how is it that it has not yet been accomplished? Our knowledge of chemical science is most extensive and accurate. Our fellow countrymen have investigated the properties of almost all the natural objects by which they are surrounded; they have analysed the variegated flower, disrobed it of its charms, and reduced it down to its native elements. They have analysed the mineral kingdom, and applied it to the most useful purposes of life. In mechanical science, they have increased their powers by at least a hundred fold; so much, indeed, have they increased it, that the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge" have published, for the benefit of the working classes, a number of tracts. These tracts contain a large number of facts, or parts of facts (laughter) for the working classes to reason upon; and I trust we shall make a proper use of the information with which they have furnished us. Well, they tell us that we have so far added to our powers of production, that those in operation will produce as much as could be produced by 28,118,164 men. We turn round, then, and ask these useful knowledge gentlemen, how it is that poverty, with its concomitant, crime, so greatly abounds? With the possession of these elements and means of creating wealth, the people are in a state of poverty, want, and barbarism. How, I again ask, is this? It matters not how much knowledge we may have; it matters not that a few may be able to marshal the stars, count their numbers, and give them names, if we, the great body of the people, are to be left in poverty and degradation. Many schemes, it is true, have been devised—merely from necessity, to still the clamours of the people—to mitigate the evils of this state of things; but what are they worth? Some say, you must

emigrate to the colonies or some other place. We ask the Society for Diffusing Knowledge, what we shall gain by going to the colonies? They answer, "You will gain land;" and to a working man this is a tempting bait. But we ask again, why cannot we obtain in this country what you propose to confer upon us in Canada or elsewhere? We state upon the authority of Parliamentary documents, that there are in the United Kingdom 15,000,000 of acres of uncultivated land, capable of cultivation; and we again ask, why are we to be sent to Canada to obtain that which so plentifully exists here? Every man of common sense must be immediately convinced that such a scheme is the extreme of madness or folly; and some will be likely to think that it has been proposed only to divert our minds from the cause of the present system of exclusion and injustice.

It shall be my business, in the remarks I am about to make, to point out what I conceive to be the cause of the evils under which we now "groan, being burdened." It is the *cause* that we should be solicitous to ascertain, for unless this knowledge be attained, we may talk till doomsday, and never find a remedy. This cause, then, I conceive to be *individuality in all our pursuits*. In the present state of society, each individual is seeking his own individual interest, in his own way, altogether independent of the co-operation of his neighbour. This I shall endeavour to elucidate, as the real cause of the existing and past distress in society. I shall then shew, that the system recommended by Mr. Owen will have the effect of destroying, and also of preventing the recurrence of, these evils.

The present system gives an injurious direction to all the faculties of man, both in the production of wealth and in the pursuit of happiness. The new system will give the most beneficial direction to all the faculties of man. Instead of making him a narrow-minded and selfish being, it will make him the most open-hearted, benevolent, and beneficent being. It will give him to see and feel that the only way to seek and secure his own happiness is to seek it in connection with the happiness of his fellow men. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge has told us, that in a savage state there is no appropriation of land; and that if there had been no appropriation of land, there could have been no security for property, and we should therefore have continued in a state of barbarism. Now, I grant all these facts. Had there been no appropriation of land, there could have been no security for the labour expended on the land; and under such circumstances it is obvious we must have remained in a state of barbarism. But to avoid that, there was no necessity for an *individual* appropriation of land; and that, indeed, is the root of the great evil. Had our forefathers been as well ac-

quainted with the science of society as we are, they would never have made an individual appropriation of the soil. On the contrary, they would have formed men into communities of moderate extent, and then have appropriated the land as the joint property of each respective community. By such an arrangement the interest of each individual would have been identified with the interest of all, and the desire of happiness, and the means of producing wealth, would have received the best direction. Under the present system, on the contrary, in those cases where nature has been more bountiful in the disposition of her gifts, the possessors of them have grasped at every thing within their reach, reckless of the consequences devolved upon those who are weaker or more ignorant than themselves. Having furnished themselves with the means of doing so, they took possession of the soil; and those excluded from it, having no other means of supporting themselves, became servants to the rest. Hence arose the system of rent, by which a class of society is enabled to live without labour; taking part of the produce of the labour of others, without giving any equivalent in return. The possessors of the soil, however, soon found that it would produce little without labour; and they were compelled to have recourse to the most tyrannical laws to extort the labour they required. At that time men had not enlarged their powers of action by means of mechanical science. Mechanical science has so greatly increased, however, for the manufacture of almost every article of commerce, that the mode of doing business has become completely changed. Men may now be seen going about in every town and village throughout the kingdom, begging and praying for work. Let the shoemaker ask for employment, and he is told by the master, who points to his well-filled shelves, that his shop is well stocked, and he has no trade. Let the wheelwright apply for work to the coachmaker, and he tells him he has none to give. Thus it is with all trades—from the humblest to the highest. We have much to learn in this respect; and nothing but the system of co-operation will cure the evil. The facts which I have stated will prove the correctness of my observation, that competition creates misery amongst all classes, but admits not of the happiness of any one person, in our large and extensive community. Are not the higher orders in jeopardy every hour? Do they not feel alarmed at their present position in the estimation of the minds of the honest, industrious, and hard-working classes? Have they not been barricading their mansions, arming their domestics, and calling in the aid of the constabulary force; and yet, notwithstanding all these precautions, crime, anarchy, and confusion, threaten them from every quarter, that they cry out in their misery and distress, "What shall we do to be saved?" Co-operation will not only benefit the working classes, but very materially improve the condition of

the aristocracy—and even of the Royal Family and the King himself! It will not provide for the sovereign merely, but for the sovereign's children, down to the third and fourth generation. The system now carried on, has not only operated as a curb upon honest industry, but the progress of civilization has been retarded in every possible point of view. If his Majesty's Ministers manifest a desire to abolish slavery, up start the slave-owners of the West Indies, and cry out, there would be an end to the power of the mother country over her colonial territories! When the emancipation of the Catholics was brought forward, as a legislative enactment, up jumped the Bishops, alarmed at the prospect of the termination of their episcopal sway, and the loss of what, if possible, they considered of more value and importance—the loaves and fishes! When a law was about being enacted to permit the opening of new beer shops, under certain wise and salutary restrictions, for the sale of pure and genuine beer, wholesome malt and hops, the publicans besieged the ministers to prohibit the public from having a pure and healthful beverage, and to compel them to drink their liquid poison, as well at the expence of their constitution as the sacrifice of their morals. Now, mark the piety of that disinterested and moral prelate, the Bishop of Bath and Wells. He violently exclaimed against the little beer shops—upon the ground of their engendering immorality amongst the working classes, when he had no objection to let the gin-shops remain open, enticing the unwary and tempting the weak, till eleven and twelve o'clock at night. This he winked at! So much for his notions of morality! This is the natural consequence of the present system, and the want of the principle of co-operation. When each party having separate interests to promote, are both pulling different ways, such is the natural result. This system has given rise to circumstances which have made men thieves, rogues, knaves, highwaymen, and housebreakers; and these classes of culprits have given rise to lawyers, judges, commissioners, magistrates, thief-catchers, and jailers—and though last not least, to Jack Ketch himself, to put people to death for their crimes. Now, with respect to the late Special Commissions which were sent to various parts of the kingdom, to try certain offenders for crimes of considerable magnitude—what, I will ask, has society gained, through the medium of those exertions of the Government, in the way of moral good? Nothing. These men were delivered over to transportation and death, both of which they would have escaped, as well as their causes, had a system of co operation been in existence, and all men had felt that they belonged to one family, and that they had but one interest in common with all. Our business is to do justice to all men; and for the sake of humanity, I call upon the intelligent and enlightened of all classes, to place the poor and needy in a more

favourable position than they are in at present. It is our intention to have an entirely new order of circumstances—to secure the possessions of the rich and affluent, but, above all, the happiness, well-being, and prosperity, of the industrious classes. Now, I ask, with such objects and intentions—which none can condemn—who can be against us? None, I reply, but those of narrow minds, who feel alarmed that any change might better our condition at their expence. I trust, therefore, that as our opponents will not be numerous, they will be powerless to thwart us in the great work we hope to achieve. Within the last few years, the working classes have had some few secrets revealed to them—their eyes have been opened, and the veil of obscurity, which has long shrouded their vision, has, happily for them, been removed. They now perceive that crime and misery are not hereditary. They see that they produce every thing that adds to the comfort and luxury enjoyed by the great; the delicacies of their tables—the furniture of their mansions—all, all, are produced by the working classes! The shirt of the King and the jacket of the pauper, are the “handy work” of the working classes! The brilliant diadem which glitters on the monarch’s brow—every cannon in the British navy—every button upon the sailor’s coat—and every feather in the soldier’s cap, are produced by the much abused, long suffering, working classes! Why, then, are the working classes looked upon and designated as the “lower orders?”—as a set of beings beneath the notice or commiseration (when in distress and destitution,) by those whom fortune has placed above them? I will briefly tell you. It is simply because they are born of poor (but honest) parents, who had not the means to educate them—whose physical powers had been trained to the production of wealth for the rich and affluent, and whose mental powers had been shamefully neglected for the basest of all purposes—party purposes. They have, therefore, been made the dupes of every party, both in and out of power, to the injury of their morals and the degradation of their character. You must not, my friends, succumb to the powers that be, and fight for those who are unwilling to recognise you as intelligent beings in the same scale as themselves. Whatever may be the character of the working classes generally, there are many splendid examples amongst them of integrity and moral worth, worthy the imitation of their superiors in point of rank, but infinitely their inferiors in a moral and religious point of view. From this class of society have sprung many of the most illustrious characters of the present and past ages. What are all the pomps and vanities of the world, when put into competition with the matchless industry, intelligence, and perseverance of the working classes? The money the working man lays out in necessaries is his own, earned by the sweat of his brow; but the money laid out by

others is what they are but seldom entitled to, it having come into their possession by other means, and through other exertions, than their own. The joint proprietorship of land is adapted to the most beneficial end. According to the system of Mr. Owen, it not only secures to every individual the possession and enjoyment of his physical, but also of his mental powers. It excludes every thing that is injurious to all classes of society. I feel assured, that the prosperity and happiness of man increases, in proportion as his faculties are cultivated. In all our pursuits, we are endeavouring to acquire that which is good in itself. The system which I recommend, and which has the purest code of morals for its foundation, would be hailed, when universally understood, as the greatest boon ever conferred upon mankind. Mr. WIGG concluded by seconding the resolution. Upon resuming his seat, the audience rose and loudly cheered him.

The resolution was then put from the chair, and carried unanimously. It was as follows:—"That the paramount object of all our social arrangements should be to add, by every combination of means, to the happiness of every member of the community; and to abstract the least possible from his personal independence—instead of that which has hitherto been our mistaken policy, to keep in ignorance, and thus destroy the happiness of the many, in order to increase and most injuriously administer to the luxuries of the few."

Mr. JOSEPH SMITH, (a delegate from Manchester) in rising to propose the third Resolution, spoke as follows:—"I hold in my hand a motion, which I feel no hesitation in submitting to the meeting, feeling assured that it will meet with its cordial approbation. I hope the apologies of former speakers, for what they term their incapacity to address so highly respectable and numerous a meeting, upon the subjects which were to be brought before their notice, will suffice for me. I will therefore not take up the time of the meeting by apologizing for my own inability upon the present occasion. I have no other point to gain but truth—truth, for its own sake, and that alone. Much has been said upon the business which has brought us together, by those speakers who have preceded me, and the subject—all important as it is—has been by them nearly worn threadbare. Something far, very far beyond individual property is the source of all our miseries, and the foundation of those evils under which we labour. If a proper and right education had been given to our governors, as well as to the working classes, they would not have arrogated to themselves those characters they have now the presumption to assume. Ignorance is the basis of every evil, and of every vice, as well as of that degradation to which the working classes have been so unjustly subjected. Out of evil originates individual property, and from out of indi-

vidual property fear. It is clear, that after we have imbibed a correct knowledge of the evils which are engendered by ignorance, we cannot fail to succeed in the efforts we are now making to emancipate ourselves. The happiness of mankind wholly depends upon the proper and correct cultivation of their moral, physical, and intellectual faculties. The basis of the future happiness, prosperity, and welfare of men, depends upon this one thing needful. One great object, which we ever ought to bear in mind, is the universal diffusion of truths; for they are our most formidable weapons in destroying that link of error by which society is now held together. That man who possesses innate charity, cannot have an ill-feeling towards any of his fellow-men. I will now just touch upon a few of the points which have been so ably noticed before. (Mr. Smith then entered somewhat fully into the subject of machinery, and maintained that its effects were seriously injurious to all—not less so to the consumer than to the working man.) The system which I recommend is this—"Every man for every man—himself included." If we could but get a fair representation in parliament, our interests advocated, and the evils we endure fairly placed before the legislature, our cause, I fearlessly predict, would be successful. But some ask, how is this to be done? I reply, Look at our numbers, our strength, and our resources; we have only to will it, and to have it. Some may say, we are not yet prepared for such a change; but I can tell you, my friends, that if we are not prepared for it now, the sooner we are so prepared the better. I ask, in the first place, what are the requisites for the formation of an incipient community? *We possess them*; and all now to be ascertained is, how to carry our intentions into effect. The words of the resolution are, that "the combined and well-directed efforts of every individual shall be made to contribute to the happiness of all, where mutual affection and the pursuit of truth shall form the basis of their education, and where every arrangement shall harmonize with the laws of human nature." We have not only all the requisites, but all the powers, to carry this resolution into full operation. One and all of us say we are tired and disgusted with our present state; we will therefore forthwith step forward, and commence an incipient community. Can you be more poverty-stricken than you are now? No; it is impossible. Public opinion is getting more favourable to a change of some sort; the change that we contemplate would be a change from misery and degradation to truth and happiness (*Loud cheers*). If the working classes possess the means, why should we delay the time for the consummation of that event we all so ardently desire? We have at last found out that which philosophers have been so long in search of, but in

vain; namely, the philosopher's stone; which is neither more nor less than the accomplishment of that of which I am the humble, though warm and sincere, advocate. Now, we only want moral courage to set to work in good earnest—a qualification which we have not yet possessed. If a number of individuals were to step boldly forward, and say, "we are determined to try this plan, and prove its efficacy," the success which would crown their efforts would prove to the world that we are no visionaries, but determined, active, practical, and honest men. (*Loud cheering.*)

Mr. PARE, of Birmingham, as representative of a society at Oldbury, near Birmingham, rose to second the Resolution. They had heard so much of the distress of the country, that he would not trouble them with any farther detail of it. The nation might be compared to a man afflicted with some vital disease, the presence of which is denoted by many outward symptoms. Every friend he meets begins to prescribe for him, and each imagines he possesses the sovereign balm. But the misfortune of it was, that these advice-gratis physicians never took the trouble of examining the *true cause* of the disease; caught by some glaring symptom on the surface, they set about healing *it*, whilst they left the canker-worm to pursue its ravages within. (*Cheers.*) So it was with the national disease; there were a thousand remedies proposed, but the parties proposing them took but a superficial view of the evil, and their nostrums were consequently inefficient. (*Hear.*) He believed the causes of the present distressed state of the millions lay much deeper than was imagined. The great master evil of society, as at present existing, was the universal competition which reigned in every department of life. In the commercial and trading world, this was considerably aggravated by the introduction of new scientific power. The great mass of the people were entirely dependent on their labour for subsistence. But, in the present competitive system, the labour market, as it was called, was frequently overstocked, and our fellow-creatures were treated in this respect like butter or eggs, or any marketable commodity—the prices were always rising and falling. On an average of years, there was always a superabundance of labour in the market; and machinery, under our present irrational arrangements, assisted in producing this glut, and, consequently, in depreciating the relative value of human labour. (*Hear.*) In the year 1792, the machinery in existence in the United Kingdom was equal to the labour of about ten millions of men; but, owing to the improvements which had been made in the steam-engine, and its application to all the leading branches of industry, together with various other mechanical and scientific arrangements, it was equal, in the year 1817, to the labour of two hundred millions of men; and at the present time, according to the

calculations of the best statistical writers, which have been confirmed by practical men, it is equal to the labour of at least **FOUR HUNDRED MILLIONS** of active, stout, well-trained labourers in the full vigour of manhood. (Hear, hear.) In the aggregate, it was scarcely possible to contemplate the effects of this amazing power, and he would therefore state that, in one branch of manufacture alone—he meant the cotton trade,—some spindles which used to revolve only fifty times in a minute, now performed six, seven, and in some cases **EIGHT THOUSAND** revolutions, in the same short space of time! In one establishment in Manchester, there are 136,000 spindles kept in incessant motion by steam power, by which they are enabled to spin **ONE MILLION TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND MILES** (not yards) of cotton-thread per week!!! By other machines, much more than this quantity is woven every week into thread-lace. The weekly produce of this article, when the machines are in full work, is about **FOUR HUNDRED MILLIONS OF MILES**, or enough to encompass this earth **ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY TIMES**. (Hear, hear.) Now, this astonishing amount of machinery must have an amazing influence either for good or for evil on the working classes. It ought to *decrease* their working hours, and *increase* their enjoyments; but what was the fact? In all those trades in which machinery had been most employed, the very reverse had taken place. (Hear.) The Useful Knowledge Society had published a work entitled “The Results of Machinery,” to show that it had been beneficial to the working classes. At the latter end of the book, however, it was admitted that machinery occasionally injured the workmen by producing a glut of commodities in the market, and thus causing the wages of labour to fall. (Hear, hear.) He would take the liberty of reading an extract or two to the meeting. “There is a glut of labourers,” says the Society, “in the market. If you (the labourers) continue in the market of labour during this glut, your wages must fall. What is the remedy? To go out of the market.” (Loud laughter.) “When wheat falls five shillings at Mark-lane,” continues the Society, “the farmer receives a hint that the supply is beyond the demand; he holds back for a few weeks, and prices regain their former level. What enables the farmer to hold back his corn? He has something to fall back upon; he is not compelled to sell his corn that week or that month—he is a capitalist. Endeavour to acquire the same power yourselves: become capitalists.” (Laughter.) This Society (continued Mr. Pare) is most excessively kind, and manifests a ludicrous desire to better the condition of the working classes, by *telling* them to “become capitalists;” but they neglected one most important particular, and that is, to tell them *how* they are to become such, and “hold back” their

labour, with wages amounting to not more than, perhaps, five, seven, or ten shillings a week—and out of this pittance to keep a wife and children, dependent on them for their “daily bread.” The work thus proceeds, after telling the starving artizans to “become capitalists” (loud laughter):—“When there is too much labour in the market, and wages are low, do not combine to raise wages, but go out of the market.” “No, no,” says this Knowledge Society, “don’t combine to raise wages, or we, and those moving in the same rank of life, will have to pay more money for our coats and waistcoats, and every other commodity which we require will be raised in price, in proportion.” This is certainly arguing the question to some purpose; but, bear in mind, it is on the side of themselves only; leaving wholly out of the question the interests of the working man. (Loud cheers.) I will read you one more extract, and then dismiss the Useful Knowledge Society’s Results of Machinery:—“When wages fall short by a glut of labour, you not only continue to work, but you work harder; and thus you increase the evil. You have, in too many cases, nothing but your labour for your support. We say to you, ‘Get something else; acquire something to fall back upon. When there is a glut of labour, go at once out of the market; become yourselves capitalists.’” On this mock mode of relief, put forth by the Useful Knowledge Society, for the evils inflicted on the labouring population by the operation of machinery, he (Mr. Pare) would make but one remark; which was, that a greater insult could not have been offered to the working classes of this great empire; and, from the part he came, it was esteemed as such. (Loud applause.) From the Useful Knowledge Society, he turned to a large mass of the public who were looking for relief from a Reform in our political institutions. No man appreciated more than he did the benefits to be derived from this source; but he warned the working classes not to deceive themselves. In America, where perhaps the freest political institutions existed, the workmen were daily being depressed in their circumstances, and throughout the States they were calling out for some great change. If they would consult the working men’s Papers published in America, they would find what he stated to be true. They were being ridden down by a commercial aristocracy. In fact, in all ages, in all countries, and under all forms of governments, the producing millions had ever been the slaves of the unproducing few. (Cheers.) What, then, was the remedy proposed by the co-operators? It was, that the mass of the people should cease to sell their labour to others, and employ it for their own benefit. They invited the workmen to unite and form communities of mutual co-operation, where they should work together for the mutual supply of all their most indispensable wants, in the way of food, clothing,

dwellings, furniture, and education, for themselves and children. Here the hand of the diligent would *indeed* make rich, and the hope—nay, the *certainty* of reward, sweeten labour. (Loud cheers.) The advantages to be derived from the formation of these happy abodes of peace and industry were so numerous, that time would fail him barely to mention them: he would content himself, therefore, with stating one result of their combined exertions, as regarded the production of the first necessary of life—bread. The cost of bread at present, beside the requisite labour to produce it, was made up of carriage of manure from town to country, farmer's profit, carriage of the corn from country to town, cornfactor's profit, miller's profit, and baker's profit. The operation of all this was, that for every sixpence which the poor man paid for bread, fourpence at least was paid in the shape of unnecessary labour and profits, all of which would be saved in a co-operative community, where the corn would be grown, ground into flour, made into bread, and consumed, all within a few hundred yards. (Hear, hear.) It would probably be asked, however, how are the working classes, who have now barely sufficient to support them, to get funds, purchase land, erect buildings, machinery, etc. necessary for the formation of these communities? This was a very natural question, and would be answered in particular by two intelligent working men from Lancashire and Yorkshire, who would address the meeting, and inform them how the workmen could permanently emancipate themselves from their present wretched and pitiable condition. Mr. Pare, after pointing out with much force the benefits which would be derived by a hearty and steadfast co-operation amongst the working classes, concluded by replying to many objections which had been lately conjured up by the editors of some of the public papers, and by pamphleteers, in the course of which he ridiculed the idea which had got abroad in some quarters, that the co-operatives contemplated a division of the wealth already in existence. No, no; they knew better than this. It was true they wished equality; but then it was "*voluntary* equality." (Cheers.) It was true they were levelers; but then they wished to level *up*, and not *down*. (Cheers.) They knew well enough, that if all the wealth in existence were to be equally divided to-morrow, so far from being beneficial (if the present system of competition were to continue), it would be highly injurious. (Hear.) They had no desire to touch one particle of the wealth now existing; but they were fully determined to establish new institutions, by which they might create and retain fresh wealth for themselves. (Loud cheers.) The resolution was then put and carried unanimously. It was as follows:—"That the proposed system of co-operation in which the combined and well-directed efforts of every individual shall be made to contribute to the happiness of all,

affection and the pursuit of truth shall form the education, and where every arrangement shall with the laws of human nature, is, therefore, in the his meeting, worthy of the attention of every lover ies, and seems the only plan calculated to promote prosperity and happiness."

LIAM CARSON, a Delegate from Wigan, in rising he fourth resolution, addressed the meeting to the effect :—An humble individual, like myself, coming before this assembly, requires on my part, some apology. I will wave that, and throw myself, with truth for ye, upon your good feeling. I appear here as the representative of a co-operative society, consisting of above three hundred members (cheers) ; the whole of whom have put into practice, and much good has been the result, that which has been recommended here to-day. They have begun to work for themselves ; and they have found, notwithstanding all that has been said, against the beneficial effects of co-operation amongst the working classes, they can now do better for themselves and for their families, than ever they did before under the bondage of their masters. They have now an estate which once belonged to a large cotton lord, and a mansion now turned into dwellings for the poor, for which they pay the yearly rent of six hundred pounds. (Hear, hear,) Upon this estate there are sixty cottages, which are all turned to a good and profitable account. The large drawing-room of this cotton lord, which was too extensive for the wants of the humble mechanics, has been despoiled of its ornamental trappings, and divided into two conveniently sized apartments. I can assure you my friends, it is indeed a glorious sight to see these men enjoying themselves during their leisure hours, by bodily recreation and mental amusement, as well as the cotton lords by whom they are surrounded. They are now placed in an independent situation, morally as well as physically—and far, very far, above want ; their families are healthful and cheerful, their bodies clothed, and their appetites satisfied by means of industry and perseverance. They feel that they are working not only for their brethren around them, but for themselves ; and all idea of poverty and wretchedness is banished from their minds. And although these men pay the enormous sum of six hundred a year for the premises they occupy, they have found that notwithstanding all the complaints made by the manufacturers of no profit and little trade, they have no cause to complain on this score. They have thus proved, that the complaints of the master manufacturers were groundless, and only made for the purpose of keeping down the wages of their men. (Mr. Carson then exhibited various specimens of gown prints, stockings, &c. manufactured by the Wigan co-operative society, which called forth the warm approbation of the meeting.) The

co-operators were determined to get machinery themselves, and turn mechanical power to their own account. They have done so, and the specimens which I now exhibit to the notice of this meeting, are the successful results of that determination. The Political Economists, with Parson Malthus at their head, wish what they term the surplus population of the country to transport themselves to distant shores and foreign climes. To these persons I would beg to give this piece of advice:—Let them transport themselves, they are useless here, and we can well do without them. What! are the drones only to be suffered to remain, and the bees only to be sent away? He would answer no; (No, no, from all parts of the room.) The drones who have hitherto lived upon the sweat of the poor man's brow by the exertions of the industrious, and the labour of the hard working, the labouring classes are determined shall do so no longer. We intend not to take any thing away from them, they may keep all that they possess, although the means by which they inherited their property were unjust; but I can tell them, that for the future the co-operatives will prevent the drones from living in luxury and idleness upon their exertions. (The speaker here instanced the good effects which have resulted from the establishment of reading-rooms amongst the working classes, and their beneficial tendency upon their habits and morals). It is one of the rules of the co-operative societies not to suffer any one of its members to receive parochial relief, they supported each other in sickness and distress, and administered to their comforts with the feeling of brothers. I stand here as a victim of these societies; and by what means, I will endeavour briefly to explain to you. I have always taken a most active part in the founding of co-operative societies, which has called down upon my head the vengeance and spite of the "Powers that be." I held a situation with a highly respectable architect, employed by the commissioners for building churches, amongst whom are several bishops and others of the aristocracy. My discharge was forwarded to me, "although having a wife and large family to maintain," because I had rendered myself obnoxious to the commissioners by the active exertions I made in aid of co-operation. Upon the architect appealing to the commissioners on my behalf, telling them at the same time the situation in which I should be placed if they were determined upon his discharging me, they told him in reply, that I must be discharged, and they would bear the responsibility. (Loud cries of shame, shame!) Mr. CARSON here exhibited to the meeting several other specimens of the "handy-work" of the co-operators, amongst which were several highly finished specimens of hardware, and a literary work, written by a co-operative member, and printed at a co-operative press. He then continued, I can assure you there is scarcely an article that could be mentioned

which these co-operatives have not the means and machinery to manufacture; every thing has been done by the powerful, the rich, and the affluent, to do a lasting injury to the working classes; but they have failed. For the future we will take the advice of no man, nor of any set of men, but of those only who have no interest, either present or remote, in keeping down the labouring classes. I had almost forgotten to mention that we have established a school—a co-operative school (loud cheers), feeling convinced that without knowledge there is no happiness. But that school has been opposed, and by whom? By those who have done ill, and are alarmed at the progress of knowledge amongst us. Our aim is to make all happy; we wish not to take the property from the rich, which they now possess, but to add to the property of the poor and industrious, who have been so shamefully neglected by those whose real interest it was to succour and support them. (loud cheers.)

Mr. HIRST, a Delegate from Huddersfield, seconded the resolution:—In rising to second the resolution which has been so ably introduced to your notice by Mr. Carsons, the delegate from Wigan, I feel myself, I confess, very peculiarly circumstanced; for almost every topic has been commented upon—and that, too, most ably, on the important business upon which we are this day assembled together, leaving me almost barren. This numerous and respectable meeting, in the metropolis of the empire, is a most pleasing and gratifying sign of the times. There was a time—and that period has not long passed by, when scarcely half a dozen persons could be found to advocate the cause we are here assembled to promote: but now we may truly say “the tables are turned,” for we can now number thousands amongst our society—our brotherly society of co-operators. The resolution states, that “to ensure so desirable and beneficial a change as the one contemplated by co-operation, no exertion of our talents should be spared, or the pursuit of honest and honourable means neglected.” To this doctrine I do, most warmly and sincerely, assent. There is much truth in the following observation, which is embodied in the resolution I hold in my hand:—“The establishing of co-operative trading and manufacturing associations, have been the means of peaceably uniting a great number of the industrious classes, as well as greatly instrumental in promoting co-operative knowledge.” (Hear, hear.) Let me, therefore, in the language of this resolution, respectfully urge on all engaged in co-operative societies to renew their exertions, and embrace every opportunity in promoting and extending their usefulness. I think, what I have just read to you, is a most excellent sermon, and deserving your serious attention. I do not think it necessary to enter into the subject of the great benefits which have been derived from our system of co-opera-

tion, more especially after the many very good speeches you have heard this day. Various have been the opinions hazarded by all classes, as to the cause of all those miseries which have so long afflicted the trading portion of the country. As regards the operations of trade, it is true that many expedients have been suggested to remedy the evils attendant upon the present system—by political economists as well as by the Government; but although every one of these suggestions have failed in their intended effects, let us, in justice, give to those parties the credit for possessing the conviction that they were *right*, although they have since proved to be so decidedly *wrong*. They never probed to the root of the evil—they went not half far enough; and hence we may date the errors and mistakes they all fell into. Now, with respect to the dreadful state of trade, some tell you it is caused by machinery—others say it is the East India monopoly—then there is a cry out against the corn laws, and the poor laws, and half a hundred other laws; till, at last, you lose yourselves, amidst these conflicting statements, in endeavouring to hit upon the true one. I have no hesitation in saying, that the newspapers—at least the generality of them—advocate the cause of the rich against the cause of the poor; and the public who read these newspapers, imbibe as many different opinions as newspapers they read. They, therefore, never arrive at the truth, but go on floundering in error. I deny that it is machinery which is the cause of distress; but I will, with equal boldness, maintain, that it is the ill-directed operations of that machinery. All I desire is, to give a right direction to those operations; accomplish but that, and all would then go on well. Competition may be mentioned as one of the most baneful sources of all our misery. What has destroyed our trade? Monopoly. What has been the cause of the almost total end of profit in carrying on business? Monopoly. To monopoly and its concomitants, we may therefore point as the great source of our evils. The whole system of trade is now one great system of falsehood and fraud. Walk but through the streets of any town in the kingdom, and what stares you in the face at the windows of the shopkeepers? In one you will find a notice to the effect, that “the stock of this shop is selling off at prime cost.” In another, “the goods of this concern are to be sold 20 per cent. under manufacturing prices,” while in a third, which I saw myself, a short time ago, “the whole of this extensive stock selling off fifty per cent. under prime cost!” (laughter.) What dependence is to be placed upon these announcements you are as good judges as I am. They prove what I have just stated, that a system of falsehood and fraud is openly carried on, to the great and very serious injury of the fair and honest trader. Such are the workings of this deceptive and ruinous system—such is the unnatural manner in which trade and commerce

are now conducted. With respect to our imports and exports, I think I shall be able to convince you that other countries are very materially benefiting at the expence of this. Our rulers and political economists appear to have been all in the wrong, as will appear from the following deductions and calculations, which may be relied upon for their correctness:—For instance, we will take the amount of labourers at 6,000,000, at the rate of wages 20s. per week, as was the case 20 years ago: 52 weeks would amount to \$12,000,000l.; take one-third of this for support, and there will remain 208,000,000l. to circulate in the country; and supposing this amount to change hands, or circulate 10 times before it appears in the shape of wages again, it would have made returns to the amount of 2,080,000,000l. Allowing 10 per cent. as the average of profit upon these returns, there would appear a net income to the nation of 208,000,000l., arising from the circulation of wages. But, as the matter now stands, by the reduction of wages to half their former price, the returns would be, as circulated above, only 520,000,000l.; and allowing the same rate of profit, it would only produce to the nation 52 millions, or a loss of 156 millions in the national income, arising from the reduction of wages alone. By way of further elucidation, and bringing the subject more plainly to our comprehension, I have weighed a piece of cotton goods,* 22lbs, and I find that 20 years ago, this piece would have left the country at 5s. 5d. per lb., that is 5l. 19s. 2d. per piece, and the cotton wool to make it from, would have cost f2s. per lb. at that time; consequently it would leave 3l. 15s. 2d. or labour, profit, &c.; but at the present time, a piece of cotton goods, of the same weight, would go out at 14d. ppr lb. and the cotton wool come in at 6d per lb., or 22lbs. at 11s. 8d. and would go out at 1l. 5s. 8d., leaving for the labour and profit 14s 8d, instead of 3l. 15s. 2d. as formerly. Thus, the labourer is compelled to do five times as much work for the same amount of money. It will thus be seen, that some new science—some new method to conduct the affairs of the country, is essentially necessary to the well being of every class. I can prove that it will only take one forty-eighth part of what England can produce to pay all the taxes, even according to their present unjust amount, and keep us all as well as our forefathers were kept, into the bargain. What then becomes of the other forty-seven parts? Ask the unproductive classes—they can best tell you, for they devour them. I consider, as the resolution expresses, that in order to ensure a desirable and beneficial change in our condition, we can only employ the means of *co-operation*. It is the duty of every man (and to the working classes I more particularly address myself), morally and politically to extend by every means in his power, the universal usefulness of co-

operative societies. All we want, or at least one great object which we wish to achieve, is to do away with the war, and the bickerings, and the ill will, which has so long subsisted between master and man. This object would be fully accomplished by the organization of co-operative societies. (Mr. Hirst here exhibited to the meeting several specimens of handkerchiefs, flannels, gown prints, Britannia metal tea-pots, and some beautifully finished knives, &c. manufactured by various co-operative societies in the North of England.) I have now upon my back, (said he,) a co-operative shirt, and here's a co-operative coat, and here's a co-operative waistcoat. (Loud laughter.) All my friends have co-operative clothes; and, for my own part, I would sooner go without clothes at all, than be clothed in any other way; so strong an advocate am I for co-operation. It has hitherto, and I am sorry to say it, been the object of certain persons to keep the females in the back-ground, but such is not the case with the members of our body; we learn from scripture "it is not good that man should be alone, I will make him an help meet for him." Some call the women cyphers, but a cypher with the addition of one, as you all know, makes ten—and it would take hundreds of London men to make one good co-operative woman (loud laughter). Let me now urge upon you to be united—be firmly determined in a good cause as ours is, and it must prosper; although we were deserted in the hour of need. Mr. Carpenter deserted us, (loud murmurs, and cries of no, no—no such thing,) "*The Trades Free Press*" deserted us, "*The Voice of the People*" deserted us—and we were thus left without any advocates to support our cause. But we have now got a press of our own (loud cheers), a co-operative press, and I trust we shall find it succeed without the aid of those who have left us. Although Mr. Owen and I on scriptural subjects are very widely opposed to each other, yet I give him the right hand of fellowship in the truest sincerity. All sectarianism should instantly cease—let us be united heart and soul, and our glorious cause must ultimately triumph, notwithstanding all the impediments thrown in its way by our adversaries. In the town of Bolton, to mention the word co-operative, would have been almost considered treasonable; I however visited the town some time since, for the purpose of giving a lecture on the benefits and advantages to be derived from the co-operative system. But knowing the feelings of the persons there resident, and the prejudices existing in their minds against co-operation, I was obliged to act very cautiously in my mode of proceeding; for I knew that if I announced a co-operative lecture, it would frighten away that audience which I wished to enlighten. I therefore had recourse to a piece of deception, which I think you will admit was excusable, to gain the end which I so much desired. I issued a notice to the following ef-

feet, leaving out, you must bear in mind, the word co-operative altogether : (laughter)—“ A lecture will be given in the assembly room of this town, on the immoral condition of the working classes, and the best means of remedying it.” The result was as I expected, the assembly room was crammed to suffocation, and hundreds were turned away from the doors for want of room. Such was the effect my lecture had upon those who attended, and such their conviction of the truths I adduced in favor of co-operation, that I was besieged the next morning by several respectable inhabitants, to give a second lecture—they offering, at the same time, to hire the theatre for that purpose. This I was obliged to decline, as I was engaged to deliver a lecture at Stockport the same evening. Since that period no less than six co-operative societies have been formed, and are flourishing in Bolton. (Hear, hear) We co-operatives can sleep in safety without locks, bolts, or bars, or even doors : but if the present system goes on, we shall have nothing but jails, and these, too, well filled. Let me now beseech the radicals to cease from exciting the lower orders against the higher ; and all who are present at this meeting, to be quiet, peaceable, and united. Let all the co-operatives in London be on their guard against the divisions which will be attempted to be created amongst them, by those to whose interests they are opposed. I would not have a co-operator look merely to the loaves and fishes,—we have all higher interests at stake than the mere profits we derive from our industry. (Cheering).

A Gentleman (whose name we were informed was WALKER) rose from the body of the room, and observed, that Mr. Hirst had done great injustice to Mr. Carpenter, by stating that that gentleman had deserted their cause ; when the fact was, that they had deserted Mr. Carpenter. “ *The Trades Free Press*,” ably as it was conducted, and advocating the rights and interests of the working classes, was compelled to be abandoned from the want of subscribers, while, at the same time, “ *The Weekly Dispatch*,” with its dog-fights, cock-fights, and man-fights, possessed a circulation of nearly thirty thousand weekly. He rose to do justice to Mr. Carpenter, whom he thought had been unfairly and most unjustifiably attacked. (Applause.)

Mr. HIRST rose for the purpose of explanation. He did not intend to attack Mr. Carpenter, whom he had not seen till that day, and whose writings and principles he had always warmly admired.

Mr. CLRAVE thought that all must be filled with delight at the cheering accounts they had that day heard of the progress of co-operation throughout a great portion of the kingdom. But he begged leave to correct the statement of Mr. Hirst, that the principles of co-operation were not known in Bolton till Mr. Hirst lectured there. Such was not the fact. The Rev. Mr. Marriott had delivered lectures there two years before, and

works had been freely circulated in the town on that subject. With respect to Mr. Carpenter and "*The Trades Free Press*," he begged leave to state, that that gentleman lost two hundred pounds by the undertaking, before he abandoned it. He then gave to the public unstamped co-operative knowledge in his "*Political Letter*," which was suppressed by the strong arm of Government, and Mr. Carpenter incarcerated within the walls of a prison for endeavouring to circulate cheap knowledge amongst the working classes. He then commenced "*The Political Magazine*" (a work highly eulogized by Mr. Owen, their Chairman,) which, to the everlasting shame of the working classes, be it spoken, had never paid him for paper and print. (Shame, shame.)

Mr. HIRST, in reply to the observations of Mr. Cleave, stated that he merely intended to remark, that no Co-operative Society had been formed in Bolton before his visit to that place. With respect to Mr. Carpenter, he had taken in his Magazine from its commencement, and warmly admired the sentiments that it promulgated. He thought, according to the existing institutions of the country, the Government was bound to prosecute him (hissing from all parts of the room) for selling his unstamped Paper. (The hissing and groans became still louder, and Mr. Hirst resumed his seat.)

Mr. OWEN trusted that all they had heard that day on the subject of the beneficent principle of co-operation would be deeply impressed upon their minds. Although much information had been imparted to them, they had not heard of half of the inestimable benefits which every man, woman, and child, throughout the kingdom, would derive from co-operation; and, although the King, Lords, and Commons, were diametrically opposed to the interests of the working classes, he would not find fault with them as individuals; for it was the system wherein the fault lay.

The fourth resolution was then put from the Chair, and carried unanimously:—

"That to ensure so desirable and beneficial a change as the one contemplated by co-operators, no exertion of talents, however humble, should be spared, or the pursuit of honest and honourable means neglected; and as the establishing of co-operative trading and manufacturing associations has been the means of peaceably uniting a great number of the industrious classes, as well as greatly instrumental in promoting co-operative knowledge, this meeting respectfully urges on all engaged in them to renew their exertions, and embrace every opportunity in promoting and extending their usefulness."

Upon the motion of the Rev. Dr. WADE, the meeting was adjourned till Wednesday.

PRIVATE MEETING OF DELEGATES.

 Monday Evening, April 23rd.

INSTITUTION OF THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES.

MR. OWEN took the chair at the evening meeting of the delegates, but, after some conversation, it was unanimously resolved to adjourn till seven o'clock on Tuesday morning.—Letters, however, were read from Lord Boston, Leigh Hunt, Esq. and others, containing general approvals of the objects of the Congress. Mr. Owen then alluded to the projected establishment of co-operative schools, and said, that there was a much greater difficulty in getting proper persons for teachers than was generally imagined; the day schools would be opened, it was expected, in a fortnight. The object was not simply to afford instruction in the necessary branches of education, but to give the infant subjects an entirely new character. There were to be three schools; the first, for the reception of infants from fourteen months old; another to receive them at the age of five or six: and a third to receive them from the age of eleven, and continue their education till they attained maturity. Day scholars would be received, but the grand design was to take children entirely out of that sphere of circumstances and prejudices, which had so unfavorable an influence on the formation of character. Boarders, would, therefore, be admitted, at the charge of two guineas a month, payable in advance, for which they would be supplied with food, lodging, and apparel. The object was not to realize profit, but this scale he conceived, was the lowest for which the plan could be effected, in that manner which would enable the children to present a good and attractive appearance, and thereby produce a favorable impression on those by whom they might be observed. At whatever age children might be admitted, they would first have to enter the infant school.—It was then stated, that the fund required to fit up one of the long rooms of the Institution for the purpose of an Infant School was £800, only £70 of which had been yet subscribed. Mr. Owen then observed, generally, that if the delegates would act in the spirit of united zeal, better encouragement to their united efforts would soon be presented, both here, and in Scotland, and Ireland. They must appeal to government, and, by exhibiting the benefits of the co-operative system, endeavour to obtain its support. When the Reform Bill was carried, government would not know what steps to take, in consequence of the pressing exigencies of the people; there was, however, no necessity that they should remain in ignorance. Let a proper impression be made as to the advantages of co-operation, which would remove wretchedness, and

spread universal happiness, and then it might be said to the government, If you will not lead us right, we will leave you, and lead ourselves. (Hear) The empire possessed quadruple means of putting every subject in such a palace as that represented by the model, which some present had that evening seen. This was not a visionary speculation. The system was as perfect and demonstratable as the science of mathematics. To realize the advantages it held out, government should issue four or five millions of exchequer bills; and if such a proposition were made, and sustained by public opinion, government dare not refuse, for the very existence of government now depended on public opinion. (Hear) Compliance would also be procured, by the proposed measure being at once calculated to relieve the legislature from the pressing difficulties with which they were now surrounded; they would perceive the means of certain relief at their command, and discover that their compliance would thus produce a benefit to themselves. The reason why the system was so long in producing an impression on the public mind, arose from the narrow instruction which people generally received; but now they might learn how to improve society, and find in the principles of co-operation the means of forming a perfect character. The simplicity of this system was such that it might be taught to any infant. Mr. Owen stated, that he had many years back developed his plan to Lords Liverpool and Sidmouth, who were satisfied as to its excellence and practicability, and who assured him that they would act on it as soon as public opinion should be sensible of its merits. He had expected to make a more rapid progress; but the barriers which had hitherto interposed were now being removed. The time when the "sword should be beaten into a plough share, and the spear into a pruning hook, and every man sit in peace under his own vine and fig tree," was coming to pass, and the highest hopes might now be entertained.

ADJOURNED MEETING OF DELEGATES.

Tuesday Morning, Seven o'Clock.

MR. OWEN having been called to the Chair,

MR. PARE read the minutes of the previous day's proceedings.

MR. FINCH, of Liverpool, remarked, that as some observations had been made on the inaccuracy of the report of the proceedings of the last congress, it would be desirable that persons should be appointed to examine that report, and correct any errors that might be discovered. He, therefore, moved that Messrs. Hirst, Thompson, and Marriott be appointed a committee for that purpose.

MR. SKEVINGTON, of Loughborough, seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. CARSON moved that Messrs. Finch, Entim, Manby, and M'Connel be appointed a committee to examine the letters addressed to the Congress, and to draw out a statistical table of replies to the questions put to the societies.

MR. POPP, of London, seconded the motion, which was carried.

EXCHANGE LABOUR BANK.

MR. OWEN then observed, that to render their operations effective, money, which formed the sinews of war, was requisite. He then submitted a report containing a proposal for facilitating and securing the exchange of labour for equal labour. The matter it contained was of the greatest importance, and would therefore require the most earnest attention of the delegates.

MR. PARE then read the report proposed by Mr. Owen, developing the manner in which the Exchange Labour Bank Establishment was to be carried into effect, with all the practical arrangements necessary thereto, as intended to be adopted by him at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn Road, so soon as funds were secured, and an understanding of the principles sufficiently diffused among the co-operators.

MR. OWEN then read some extracts from his Report to the county of New Lanark, bearing upon the same subject, and concluded by remarking, that the Report was written in the year 1819, and that, therefore, although Mr. Gray, of Edinburgh, might think he was entitled to claim the originality of the plan developed in his "Social System," had he ever seen the "Report" he would have found he had been anticipated.

MR. THOMPSON, of Cork, thought it should not be assumed that Mr. Gray had not seen the Report, because that involved a censure upon him. It was the duty of every man who proposed any measure to ameliorate the moral or political condition of the human race to read what had previously been published upon the subject. With reference to banks of exchange themselves, he felt bound to say, that although what had been read was good and valuable in itself, there did not appear to be, in his mind, any thing practicable in it.

MR. PARE thought this conversation irrelevant. It was quite immaterial whether Mr. Gray had seen Mr. Owen's Report or not, though there was little doubt but he had seen it.

MR. PARE then proceeded to read the following extracts from the "New York Free Enquirer," for the purpose of shewing the operations and results of the system of exchanging labour for labour in some parts of America.

"Spring Hill, Dec. 19, 1830.

"About five years since, Mrs. Charity Rotch, of the Society of Friends, at her decease, gave the interest of 22,000 dollars

to be appropriated to the establishment of a school for the benefit of poor children.

"In January, 1828, Hezekiah Camp, of New York, William G. Macy, of Nantucket, James Bayliss, of New York, and Edward Dunn, of Philadelphia, some of whom had experienced the failure of three communities to which they had belonged, on the dissolution of the Kendal community, not discouraged by failures, which they perceived were caused by the want of knowledge, applied to and contracted with the trustees of the said fund to take under their care twenty-five children; to feed and clothe them, to teach them the common rudiments of education, and to give to the females a knowledge of housewifery generally, and to the boys a knowledge of practical agriculture. They were to spend three hours per day in school in the warm weather, and four in the cold season; they might be required to work eight hours per day, the proceeds of which the company were to receive, together with the school-fund, amounting to one thousand dollars per year.

"The company began their operations with a capital of one thousand dollars, with which they stocked the farm, purchased farming utensils, furniture, bedding, &c.

"I have been particular in stating these details, because it is a common impression that these arrangements require a large capital; and while this impression remains, the independence of the mass will depend on capitalists, whose interest (as most of them view it) is to keep the mass in servitude.

"At the expiration of the first year, on balancing accounts with the company, they perceived that these children, who were between ten and sixteen years of age, aided by these four adults, had supported themselves within two hundred dollars, leaving a surplus of 800 dollars, of the fund so generously intended for their benefit. Let it be observed, that this was done by agriculture alone, a business which is by far more depressed than trades or manufactures; this shows that when legislators in this republic begin to learn the rights of citizens, and secure to each the possession of the soil, that even children destitute of almost every thing else, may render themselves independent of their labour; but while the soil of the country is monopolised and controlled by those who make no use of it, poor children, destitute of friends and of interest, will continue to be the victims of this legal barbarism.

"It was in the fifth month of the second year that I visited the establishment, and beheld a demonstration of the influence of surrounding circumstances upon the characters of children, which, although I had reflected and observed much on the subject, both surprised and delighted me. I saw children who, a little more than a year before, were destitute orphans, and who, had they been differently circumstanced, might have been forced from every endearing object, and shut up in a house of

correction, a bridewell, a house of refuge, or some other monument of human ignorance, now living as happy as they could well be; directed by intelligent friends, who acted as benevolent guides, rather than as mercenary masters, and who consulted the present and future happiness of these children equally with their own.

"I saw young females who, had they been in the cities, would have been compelled to waste away the bloom of life in unremitting toil at their needles for 12 1-2 cents per day, or, perhaps, to be miserable dependents on the "societies for the encouragement of domestics," and to drag out a monotonous life of enervating servitude in the kitchens of the rich, or a scanty pittance just sufficient to keep up the working power. I saw them here comparatively independent, and daily acquiring an education which would place them beyond the vain ambition of expensive show, which would enable them to supply their own wants and conduct their own affairs, and consequently place them beyond the humiliation and distress endured by poor, but respectable females in our cities. As a proof of this, it has been a matter of complaint in the neighbourhood, that "since this school commenced, no girls could be obtained to do kitchen work."

"Although about seventeen months ago they were (with few exceptions) destitute of artificial learning, I now saw them go through their exercises in reading, writing, arithmetic, and grammar, with accuracy and ease; their language, in common conversation, was more critically correct than that of adults in general, and their common remarks bespoke the exercise of their reason. The utmost confidence and good feeling between pupils and teachers was strikingly evident, although the latter assured me that they had laboured as intensely to annihilate the feeling of fear in their pupils, as the teachers of the old school generally do to excite it. The boys had acquired a practical knowledge of agriculture generally, and the girls of housewifery and domestic economy, and each went to his ploughing, planting, or reaping, and to her cooking, spinning, &c., with a cheerful promptness and efficient energy which demonstrated what may be done, when the heart and the hand work together. These results, (to my mind,) speak sufficiently for the great truths developed by Robert Owen, and for the intelligence, perseverance, and benevolence of the individuals who have, in honest adherence to those truths, thus devoted themselves to this experiment for human good."

MR. OWEN remarked, in reference to something said about the state of society in America, that it was difficult for females in Philadelphia, labouring twelve hours together, to obtain sixpence a day; and to shew the facilities of learning a trade, when taught by scientific principles, he remarked that Joseph Warrington, the person mentioned in the Free Enquirer, and

who was a bricklayer and musician, applied to a person who worked at the trade of shoemaking upon the principles of science, and in two days he was able to cut out a pair of shoes, and make every part of them himself.

MR. THOMPSON wished to know whether the persons conducting these schools or establishments were paid; and if so, whether out of the labour of the children, or out of the fund of 20,000 dollars. That was a very important thing to ascertain; because the result would show whether such establishments could support themselves out of the labour of children between the ages of seven and fifteen years. That problem was about being solved, and he believed in the affirmative; but still it was of importance to know how the fact stood in this particular case in America.

Mr. OWEN said he knew nothing more of this case than the other persons who had heard the letter read; but they had not yet to learn that children of the age referred to could support themselves by their labour. But why should they perplex themselves about such trifling things as these? He was ready to prove, nay, he believed they knew, that they possessed the means to create as much wealth as they could possibly desire. The knowledge they now possessed, aided by machinery, were sufficient, not only to put all the inhabitants of this country into a condition in which they would have a superfluity of every thing around them, but also—if those powers were properly directed—to support in comfort and affluence the whole population of the earth. What, in fact, could they want, that they did not now possess? They had the means of creating an abundance of all kinds of wealth—of giving to every child the most intelligent and virtuous character—of creating wealth to any extent that they might want it—and, in a word, of giving to all men all things in the greatest abundance. Having this prospect before them, and that upon no uncertain foundation, but upon the basis of science, surely they would no longer waste their time in disputes and differences about this or that; and, above all, when they recollected that thousands were starving. He then proceeded to state that the plain business they had to attend to, was to ascertain from the government whether they would adopt the system which they (the delegates) had to propose; and then, if they would not, it would be their duty immediately to commence it for themselves. It had been objected, that they should not trouble themselves about the government; but forty years' experience had convinced him that no part of the new system could be carried into effect in conjunction with any part of the old system. That being the case, there must either be a peaceable taking down, or a violent overthrow of the old system; and as they all desired the former, he should, by and by, propose that an

address to the governments of Europe and America be adopted by the Congress.

Mr. STYLES then moved the adoption of the paper which had been read, on the subject of labour exchanges, and also that it be printed for circulation.

Mr. WARDEN objected to the adoption of the Report, because that would give the sanction and recommendation of the Delegates to the measures it proposed. Before that was done, however, he must strongly urge upon the Congress the consideration of three things;—1stly, the tenure upon which those premises recommended to become the Central Depot were held; 2dly, the constitution of the Association for Bettering the Condition of the Industrious Classes, with which the Report recommended a junction to be formed; and thirdly, the constitution of those Co-operative Societies which were represented by the Delegates at that Congress. With regard to the first point, he was in no way satisfied.

Mr. OWEN here rose, and said he could save time by reading a memorandum of agreement between Mr. Bromley, as the proprietor of the premises, and he himself (Mr. O.), as governor of the Institution. This was read, and purported to be an agreement upon the part of Mr. Bromley to assign to Mr. Owen, on the 1st day of January, 1833, all the premises situated in Gray's-Inn Road, with the fixtures and fittings, upon the payment of 17,700*l.*, to be made as soon as the funds of the Association were declared to be sufficient for that purpose, and its governors declared that such a sum might be thus appropriated consistently with the interests of the Institution. If the Association were not in a condition to make the purchase at the specified time, then Mr. Bromley to be at liberty to let, or sell, or otherwise dispose of the premises; the Institution to be allowed, in the mean time, to occupy the premises, &c. without charge. It was further included in the agreement, that no member of the Association should be liable for any payment in respect of the premises, but in the amount that might be due from him as a member. Nothing (Mr. Owen remarked) could be more satisfactory than that agreement. They ran no risk till January next, before which time he thought it very strange if they could not make the premises entirely their own. If, however, they should fail in that, and articles were previously sent into the place as an exchange depot, all that would be necessary was to remove the things from the premises in December next.

Mr. WARDEN resumed, and said he would not, after the reading of the memorandum, and the explanation of Mr. Owen, dwell further upon the tenure of the premises. But he felt equally the importance of the other thing he had adverted to; namely, the constitution of the Institution. That was of a perfectly despotic nature, and was entirely dependant upon the

governor. True, there was a council or committee; but it had no veto on the acts or proceedings of the governor—it was only appointed to *assist* him in carrying his plans into effect. Should he die suddenly, then the whole affairs of the Institution would be involved in confusion, for no one but himself knew any thing about them. There was also a defect in the document of very great importance; and that was, the omission of all reference to land—an essential consideration to their plans.

Mr. OWEN again rose, and stated that one of their best members had offered them 421 acres of capital land, in a good situation, at 22s. 6d. an acre, tithe free; and it immediately adjoined a property of 1,100 acres belonging to a friend of his (Mr. O.), who, he was sure, would do any thing in his power to promote their object.

Mr. WARDEN said he knew all about this land, and thought it by no means so great a bargain as Mr. Owen did. He now proceeded to the other thing he had adverted to—namely, the constitution of the Co-operative Societies represented by the Delegates; and he was sure that, when that was considered, it would be deemed impracticable to unite with the Institution of which Mr. Owen was the governor. Their Societies were based upon a perfect equality of rights among their members; and every officer was chosen by universal suffrage, through the medium of the ballot. How could such Societies amalgamate with one that was a perfect despotism, and whose movements depended entirely on the will of one man? It was impossible, in his opinion; at all events, as he hated despotism in every form, he should protest against the junction.

A good deal of desultory conversation followed, which terminated in the appointment of a Committee, to whom the document was referred for revision.

Mr. CARSON then presented the following

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE "NORTH WEST OF ENGLAND UNITED CO-OPERATIVE COMPANY,"
(Opened December 12, 1831.)

"Your Committee have much satisfaction in reporting to this congress, that after having surmounted many difficulties, they have brighter prospects before them; and the most sanguine hopes of effecting the great objects for which they were established—viz., that "of establishing a medium of exchange for co-operative productions, and thus connecting, in a close bond of union, the societies of all parts of the kingdom." Your Committee, however, cannot but regret, that many societies, who by their delegates engaged to trade with the company, from various causes, have not yet performed their engagements; but they anticipate, that the causes which have prevented them, will speedily subside. This, however, has been the read

son that your Committee could not carry several of the laws into effect, among the rest, that "of each trustee visiting Liverpool each week in rotation." In order to save expence, they have appointed one of their number, who lives nearest, to visit the store and transact the necessary business, and report from time to time to his colleagues; and, on matters of importance, to call them together.

"Your Committee have further to report, that they have nearly completed arrangements to open their retail establishment, which will assist in meeting the expences of the entire establishment, and afford an opportunity of disposing to the public of the various goods that are manufactured by co-operative societies. The following is an abstract of the concerns of the company.

"Thirty-one societies have commenced dealing at the store.

"Twenty-one societies have joined the company, by sending their subscriptions, or part of them, amounting to 152*l.* 7*s.*

"The amount of sales has been 1,830*l.*; the commission received has been 24*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.*; whilst the current expences have been 51*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*, leaving a minus of 26*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.*

"Your Committee deem it necessary to observe, that they are now doing business to meet every expence, and have no doubt they will, ere long, be able to reduce their now small commission of 1 per cent; they further impress on those societies which intend joining the company, immediately to do so, and to send their subscriptions, as money is wanted to complete the arrangements of the retail establishment."

Mr. CARSON observed, that the establishment of the wholesale company in Liverpool, having been left to practical and business-like men, had been carried into effect in a business-like manner. Such was the way in which their business was conducted, that the company was enabled, even in its present imperfect state, to serve the retailers with goods at a lower price than they could procure them elsewhere. Practical men, and those who had the best means of coming to a correct conclusion upon the subject of the Liverpool undertaking, had expressed their conviction, that this establishment would shortly become one of the most extensive in the kingdom. When they first commenced, they had numerous difficulties in their trading speculations to overcome; but they had happily surmounted them. Their business was now increasing, and left a good profit, and they were now about to take a retail shop in a leading thoroughfare in Liverpool, in which they intended to exhibit every article manufactured and sold by the societies. They were enabled to cope with any of the traders in Liverpool; and the richest importers in the town sought their agent, and solicited his custom, knowing that he had always the ready money to pay them. There was no doubt but this establishment in Liverpool would, in a short time,

prove a valuable medium of exchange for co-operative produce of all sorts. Such were the resources, combined with the industry of the societies in the North, that they would not have the slightest difficulty in filling the immense building in which the delegates were then assembled, over and over again, with the produce of their labour. If the members of the Metropolitan Societies were to make their purchases of their brethren in the country, for what they could supply them with, their country friends would do the same with them, either in the way of barter, or for cash, and the advantages would be mutual and most extensive. At the present moment, they were supplying some of the principal merchants of Liverpool with their manufactures; and such was the high repute in which the company was held, that if it wished for credit to the amount of 10,000*l.*, it could immediately have it. Mr. Carson concluded by remarking, that he considered the subject of the direct exchange of labour by the workmen themselves, as one of vast importance, and every one of the delegates ought to make himself well acquainted with it in all its details.

A resolution that this report be received was then moved and seconded. Just as it was being put from the chair,

Mr. WATKINS rose and said, that he considered the report, together with Mr. Carson's statement, of too much importance to be passed over without some remarks. A great deal of highly useful information, grounded upon actual facts, was before them, and he trusted would have due weight with those present.

Mr. GASKELL (of Kendal) was desirous of pointing out the benefits which were to be derived amongst co-operative societies in the way of trade. Our society (said Mr. Gaskell) has long had her eye upon such an establishment as that now formed at Liverpool, where a mart is now established for the disposal of a great portion of our manufactured goods. When our society was first established, we were enabled to do but little, but are now, thanks to our industry and perseverance, enabled to cope with any tradesman in the town. We have now a market for our manufactured goods, and our prospects are all very promising. Our society caused another society to be established at Kendal, which, although it *called* itself a co-operation society, was widely different in its principles, and it meets with but little success. The importance of co-operative societies was beginning to be felt generally throughout the kingdom.

Mr. SKEVINGTON (of Loughborough) bore testimony to the happy and beneficial effects which had resulted from the establishment of co-operative societies in the part of the country from which he came. He trusted that, united as they were in such a cause, they would speedily be independent of the control of capitalists and masters, and not only possess the necessities and comforts, but also the luxuries of life, so far as they would tend to their benefit and happiness.

Mr. PETRIE rose for the purpose of congratulating the Congress upon these bright prospects by which they were then surrounded. He was assured that the emancipation of the working classes (in spite of the machinations of their enemies) had not only commenced, but was, in fact, nearly accomplished.

Mr. E. TAYLOR (a Delegate from Birkacre, Lancashire, and representing a society of upwards of three hundred individuals) explained at some length the annoyances to which the society he represented was subjected, by the jealousies of capitalists and masters. The society rented extensive premises on lease, for which they paid 600*l.* per annum. They had expended 300*l.* in the purchase of machinery for the printing of silks, cottons, &c. Some malicious persons, finding they were very likely to effect some good for themselves, had been tampering with their landlord, and endeavouring to get them turned out; but he was happy to inform the Congress that their object was defeated, and the society, wishing to increase their strength, and at the same time to assist others, were desirous of co-operating with their honest fellow-workmen, that they might be protected from common dangers, and for this important purpose they had delegated him to attend that Congress.

Mr. KINGSON, of Newark, had experienced great trouble and difficulty in organizing the Newark co-operative society, and disposing of their manufactured goods; but, as an opening was soon made for them in Liverpool, through the North-west-of-England Co-operative Company, they would not fail to have recourse to it, and he looked forward to the most beneficial results.

Mr. BENBOW said, throughout his whole life he had never experienced greater pleasure than in hearing what was reported of the Liverpool Company, which was most cheering and satisfactory. The desire of the society which he represented was to effect an exchange of labour for labour; but this he considered to be of so much importance that it ought not to be hurried over.

MR. BISHOP, Delegate from Birmingham, mentioned the reason why the Birmingham Society had not dealt with the Liverpool Co-operative Company. Soon after the Birmingham Society was established, the managers very foolishly gave credit to several of the members, whom, he was sorry to say, were not sufficiently honest to pay the debts they had contracted. Added to this, they had embarked their capital in too many businesses at the same time, which distracted their attention, and occasioned much loss. Their funds had been much deteriorated, and for a time at least they had been compelled to give up their provision store; and hence their inability to deal with the company at Liverpool. Their affairs were now, however, assuming a brighter aspect, and he had

not the least doubt they would be able shortly to make an exchange in goods.

Mr. DENT remarked, that several members who got into debt with a society to which he belonged, were summoned before a magistrate, and made to pay.

Mr. OWEN begged to call the attention of congress, for a moment, to a few observations he wished to address to them. It was not well to be led away without knowing what they were doing, and also the results. The society at Liverpool was either a wrong or a right establishment. To be ultimately successful, it must come into fair and open competition with all other establishments similarly constituted. But he did not expect any thing to be permanently profitable, if great competition, and a striving to outdo each other, were to take place between societies. One of their grand objects ought to be to exchange their goods.

The Delegates then adjourned for an hour.

Just as the congress was about to resume its business, JOSEPH HUME, Esq. M. P. entered the room, and took a seat at the table, amidst loud cheers. The discussion on the report of the North West of England Co-operative Association was then resumed.

Mr. HIRST congratulated the congress, that with the aid of such feeble means they had been able to attain such important objects. The fact was, that distress and suffering made men desperate, and they then realised the full measure of their strength. He also congratulated them that their minds had not been directed to violent proceedings, but to help themselves without robbing others. Such had been their influence in the north of England, that while most other parts were exposed to the ravages of incendiaries, there was scarcely a solitary case throughout the West Riding of Yorkshire. He then called the attention of the congress to the way in which their minds had been directed to co-operation. They had seen the world groaning under the weight of their productions, and they were led to ask how it was that they who produced all—and in such abundance too—were steeped in poverty and wretchedness. They were told they were poor because they created so much riches. Now, that somewhat staggered them, and they proceeded to ask what they should do. They had long petitioned the legislature and the government, but they had in reply told them they could do nothing for them. They (the working classes) had asked to be permitted to send men into parliament, who knew and would promote their interests. But the legislature replied, they were too ignorant to be entrusted with such a power. They soon began to feel the hardship of this treatment. They felt it most bitterly that they should first be made so poor, that they could not afford to purchase knowledge (which the government had taken care to prohibit by stamp

duties), and then that on the plea of the ignorance thus induced, they should be deprived of their political and social rights. Well, then, being thus treated by the government, the working men determined to act for themselves, in accordance with the advice of Mr. Secretary Peel. They found that one among them could make one thing, and another another thing; and then that they could exchange with each other. Acting upon this discovery, they had formed themselves into co-operative societies in different parts of the kingdom, and were at this time carrying on to a very great extent their business of exchange, and thus reaping the fruits of their own labour. If these exchange depots were established in every town in the kingdom, the advantages to the working classes would be incalculable. (Hear).

The report of the trustees of the Liverpool United Co-operative Company was then agreed to.

ADDRESS TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA.

Mr. OWEN rose to submit to the congress, an Address to the governments of Europe and America. After the reading of the address,

Mr. WARDEN proposed that it should be adopted by the delegates, and presented for the approval of the public meeting on the following day.

Mr. HARRISON, of Glasgow, seconded the motion, and descanted at some length on the importance of bringing the principles and facts comprised in that document under the notice of the respective governments to whom it was addressed; not so much to make them known to these governments as to the inhabitants of the world at large.

Mr. WATKINS objected to one part of the address, in which the memorialists expressed their indifference as to forms of government, whether democratic, monarchical, or despotic.

Mr. MANDLEY and Mr. PETRIE supported the memorial. It was not necessary to criticise too nicely isolated expressions; its great object was to let the governments of the world know, that if they would not assist the working classes, the working classes would do all they wanted for themselves.

Mr. BENBOW concurred with Mr. Watkins in objecting to the part of the address pointed out. He would not consent to address any government in terms of hypocrisy, even to attain the greatest object. He, therefore, would not subscribe to the statement of the address, that forms of government were immaterial. He hated despotisms under every form, and ever would, as he ever had, do every thing in his power to destroy it.

Mr. LOVETT agreed with Messrs. Watkins and Benbow in deprecating every thing that appeared approbatory of the

principle of despotism, and therefore moved as an amendment, that the address be referred to a committee for revision.

Mr. SKEVINGTON concurred in the statements which had been expressed by the preceding speaker. He was opposed to any thing which appeared to favour or excuse despotism. He therefore seconded the amendment.

Mr. SIMPSON fully anticipated Mr. Owen's reply; but he would ask whether it could be believed that the principles of co-operation could effect their proposed object, while the government remained in its present state? Was the new system consistent with despotism or not? If it were not, then the sentiments of the memorial or address were clothed in the specious language of *expediency*. (Hear.) It was stated that the conduct of government had been fallacious, and productive of many of the evils now endured. Why then not boldly declare to government, that if it did not alter its fallacious modes of governing, that the business of melioration must be taken into wiser and better hands? He also wished to inquire what time they were to wait for the government's decision on this address; and if they did wait, was it not most probable that, after all, they should have to rely on their own unaided exertions? He therefore urged the necessity of not waiting, nor suspending exertions, for a benefit which was remote and very uncertain.

Mr. OWEN defended the memorial against the charge of inconsistency; and remarked, that despotic governments were frequently found to be better than what were called democratic. In the countries where those governments existed, the industrious classes were not found in such misery and destitution as in this country; and therefore, on this ground, there was no reason to dislike despotisms. As far as the co-operative system was concerned, it was of no consequence whether government were despotic or not. In asking for an entire change in social relations, it must be seen that that change could be better effected by an existing government, than by one to be newly introduced. When government found that they must either oppose the whole mass of popular intelligence, or alter their measures, they would prefer the latter alternative; and if they could be made to know that the industrious classes had discovered some better mode of government, they would be very much inclined to take the lead in the new and superior plan. That there was an ignorance among legislators as to the true principles of government, was evident, from the manner in which the productive powers had been suffered to operate on national prosperity. While we had long possessed an artificial power to produce wealth, which equalled the production of 600,000,000 of men, and which was capable of being increased so as to be equal to the production of twice that number, its effect had been to create poverty for the mass. Mr. Owen then argued that with such

means to produce a superabundance of what was required, taxation could not be the source of poverty and distress, as was erroneously supposed, for that we had the power to pay a much larger sum than that now imposed, if requisite for good government. They should, therefore, tell the government what they knew, and that with the command of such resources, they could not remain silent spectators, and see their brethren die for want.

JOSEPH HUME, Esq. M.P. then rose and said, that although only a visitor, perhaps he might be permitted to address a few words to the meeting. He had himself been a co-operator perhaps longer than most then present, although his co-operation differed from that of his friend in the Chair. He was surprised to have heard what had been said in reference to the character of governments. It was inferred that the English was a democratic government; but this he must deny; for while it was democratic in name, it was certainly despotic in practice. The only difference between the despotism of Austria and Constantinople, and that of England, was, that while in each of the former it was exercised by one man, to whom every thing was immediately attributed, in England it was inflicted by many, and clothed with the specious name of liberality. Mr. Hume expressed his surprise that popular instruction was not urged in the proposed Address, as it was only from knowledge that the people could be freed from the trammels of bad laws and state religion. He then insisted that taxation was a great evil, both by its direct pressure on industry, and by the various abuses to which it acted as the medium of support. There had, however, been an enormous reduction of those who existed on this species of exaction from industry; and the very men who once hunted others down for attempting this reduction, had now become Radical Reformers. As to the oppressive effect of taxation, he was surprised that it could be doubted. It made some difference whether a man, out of one shilling a day, had to pay taxes amounting to one penny, or to half-a-crown. In one case, industry retained what labour had produced; in the other, half the products were swept away, without any return. The wages of the labourer would never bear any proportion to his increased expenses, while the laws were made to favour a few, and create a monopoly of food in favour of the rich. Those who fed on taxes certainly did say to the complaining multitude, "What are taxes in their amount to individuals?" They had hitherto had skill enough to gull the people, and make them believe that taxes were a good. Mr. Owen appeared to have been a little bitten in this manner. (A laugh.) By depressing the condition of the industrious classes, taxation also had produced a monopoly of knowledge, to which he (Mr. H.) had always been opposed. The Church had opposed every institu-

tion which proposed the diffusion of that intelligence which did not happen to favour her own views. When the Lancasterian plan of education was first introduced, he had supported it, but met with the monopolising opposition of the Church; though that opposition had ultimately led to an extension of schools. In reference to seeking extraneous aid, Mr. Hume recommended the Congress to trust to themselves. He advised them to address no king and no government, but strive to diffuse knowledge; for ignorance and subserviency, as long as they should remain, would always make the people the milch-cow for plunder and oppression. Mr. Hume then alluded to the spread of education in the United States as an example for emulation. In the State of New York, the average number of children from the age of five to sixteen years, according to the census, was estimated at 497,000; while the number of those instructed in schools, in different sections of the State, amounted, according to returns, to 499,000—being more than the number given by the census. With such an example of what the efforts of the people could do, why need the Congress apply to New York, or any other State, for assistance? They should be cautious to publish nothing which would contravene the great principle of popular ability. Mr. Hume then observed, that he did not think it possible to make all men happy alike, as Mr. Owen proposed. ("But we have got the science," interposed Mr. O.) The Hon. Gent. then read an extract from a reply which the celebrated Dr. Channing had given to some questions which had been put, on the subject of the proposed happiness of the co-operative system; in which the Doctor stated, that though the means of happiness were afforded to all, all would not make use of them; that the mind was enriched by its own operations, and had certainly a power to control or modify the impressions which were made upon it; and hence, that man had some power to form his own character, and was not entirely the creature of circumstances.

Mr. Hume left the room amidst the cheers of the Delegates.

MR. PARE said he was sorry Mr. Hume was leaving, as he (Mr. P.) was tempted to make a reply to some observations which had fallen from the honourable gentleman. He would readily admit that a reduction of taxes, so far as it went, would tend to dry up the sources of corruption, and turn the attention of our legislators to some practical measures for the permanent relief of the people. But Mr. Hume had also spoken of the pressure of the taxes in a pecuniary point of view, as abstracting from the hard earnings of the labourers. Now, did not that gentleman perceive that whatever the government remitted in taxes, would, instead of benefitting the working classes, be swallowed up by the commercial classes? Some people talked about the identity of interests between the lower and middle classes. This, however, he

thought was a fallacy; there was no such identity; it was the interest of the middle classes, the capitalists, to buy labour as cheap as possible, whilst it was the interest of the labourers to sell their labour as dear as possible. If, therefore, taxes to any amount were reduced, it would only benefit the workmen, until the masters had sufficient time to screw it out of wages, and that portion of the products of the labourer which now went into the government exchequer, would go into the pockets of the great capitalists.— (Hear.)

MR. HOLMES, of Coleshill, remarked, that though Mr. Hume had said he was a co-operator, it was in a sense widely different from that in which they understood the word. The object of co-operation was to destroy competition, while Mr. Hume thought that competition should not be destroyed. The hon. member had done that which had the effect of embarrassing operatives, and upheld the spirit of competition in the silk committee of the House of Commons.

MR. THOMPSON, of Cork, said that before the motion was put from the chair, he should like to enquire whether if it were determined to submit the Address to a public meeting, its adoption was to be considered as an act of the public meeting, or of the delegates. If presented to government as the Address of the delegates, he should wish to see a document less defective than that which had now been submitted to their notice. In the Address governments were called upon to make a total change, but whether they were to bring about despotism, or the co-operative system, or any other institutions, not a word was said. The Address did not mention general education as desirable or necessary, nor did a word occur as to the evils of private property. Government was told by implication, that the co-operative system possessed all wisdom, but that if they wished to know any thing about it, they must address to Gray's Inn-lane. (A laugh.) He hoped the Address would be submitted to a committee, who would introduce some definite principles, and give the government some information as to the modifications required.

MR. PARR thought some alteration ought to be made in the Address, and he concurred in the observations of Mr. Thompson.

MR. HIRST thought that government could not produce a change, which must be produced by the people themselves. The motion that the address be submitted to a committee was then carried.

MR. STYLES next read the

REPORT OF THE MISSIONARY COMMITTEE.

The committee regretted that they had not received such

efficient co-operation and support from the societies in the country as they anticipated. They relied with confidence, however, from the opinion in favour of missionary exertions, that this deficiency would be supplied in future; and that the glorious cause of truth and justice, which co-operation embraced, would find equally zealous support as other causes, which could not lay claim to such pretensions. They reported the establishment of societies at Greenwich and Hackney, and produced a balance of £3. after having paid their expences of printing circulars, &c.

MR. WARDEN moved that the report be adopted.

MR. CAULDWELL, of Manchester, seconded the motion, and urged the necessity of diffusing a knowledge of the facts on which co-operation is founded. He also read a letter from the society which he represented, which promised their zealous concurrence in the cause.

After some details from Mr. Low, illustrative of the benefit of missionary exertions,

Mr. HIRST moved the adjournment till seven o'clock on Wednesday morning.

Wednesday, April 25.

CO-OPERATIVE MISSIONARIES.

The delegates assembled at seven o'clock, and it having been communicated that Mr. Owen would be unable to attend, in consequence of a severe domestic affliction,

Mr. HIRST was unanimously called to the Chair.

Mr. LOWE, after stating the beneficial effects produced by missionary exertions in the neighbourhood of Manchester, moved "That missionaries be chosen to propagate the principles of co-operation throughout the kingdom, to establish the association of the social family."

Mr. PATRIE seconded the motion, and alluded to the great importance of the object proposed. He said that if the principles could be but rightly apprehended, and a right direction be thus given to the mind, that all the other benefits of the system would result as a consequence. The preponderance which the dissenters of England had acquired, arose from their missionary exertions; and the tracts which they dispersed, containing the pith and cream of their sentiments, also prepared the way for the success of their missionaries.

Mr. CALDWELL did not rise to support the present motion, but to propose as an amendment, "That a society, to be called the 'Social Family,' be formed; that each member pay a small contribution for the purpose of renting lecture rooms, for the support of missionaries, and the establishment of Sunday schools; and that persons not members of co-operative societies be admitted to the social families.

Mr. EATON said that the motion was out of order, and that

something must be previously effected before it could be carried into effect. Provisions must be first made for defraying the expenses of missionaries, otherwise missionary attempts would prove ruinous to individuals who undertook them. He suggested a halfpenny a week subscription.

Mr. MANDLY seconded the amendment, and urged the necessity of the principles of the system being well understood, before reading societies were formed.

Mr. EATON defended trading societies, as a means of impressing on the minds of the people the necessity of a change in the social system.

Mr. SIMPSON expressed his surprise at a declaration of Mr. Owen's, that Mr. M'Connell was the first public missionary which they had had in London. For eleven years, he (Mr. S.,) had been labouring as a missionary, in private and in public. He supported the original motion, and recommended that missionaries should not interfere with theological subjects, for it was not the object of the co-operative system to establish a theological sect.

Mr. TUCKER said, that the reason the missionary arrangements of the last congress had failed, arose from appointing a committee only, and not determining on the means by which they were to operate. He opposed the amendment, and suggested, that each society should make a general contribution to a fund; that in addition to this, each member subscribe one halfpenny per week; that each society remit their funds to a district treasurer, who should communicate with the general congress.

Mr. Caldwell's amendment was then withdrawn, and the original motion was carried.

ADDRESS TO GOVERNMENTS.

The Rev. Mr. DUNN then brought up the Address to the Governments, as amended in the Committee, and proceeded to read it to the congress.

At the conclusion of the reading of the address, the Rev. Gentleman observed, that the question then before the congress was, whether that address should be published and circulated to the world, as containing the sentiments of the congress.

It was then moved by Mr. WATKINS, and seconded by Mr. FINCH, that the Address be adopted.

The Rev. J. MARRIOTT requested the Secretary to read the clause in the address, which had reference to the prevalence of crime in this country; which having been done, the Rev. Gentleman declared, it was not his opinion that the vice and misery at present prevailing in the world, was as great as at any former period; and, therefore, he begged to suggest the omission of that sentence in the report. He maintained, that mankind was in a state of progressive improvement.

Mr. PARE moved that the obnoxious clause should be struck out.

Mr. OWEN then briefly addressed the Congress to the following effect:—I consider the proceedings of this Congress, and the important measures it is called upon to discuss, arrange, and decide, of far too serious a nature to be infringed upon by, what I may call, private considerations. I have had, as you may all be well aware, very considerable experience in all those matters upon which this Congress is called upon to deliberate. The establishment of a co-operative mission is of no manner of consequence, until we have missionaries to go forth, and we possess funds to pay those expenses which must inevitably be incurred. In Ireland, there are thousands of our fellow-creatures in a state, not only of great destitution, but of absolute starvation. Let us, therefore, go on stedfastly in our course, and in a few months, I trust, we shall be able to remedy all these evils. Those who had minds to reflect—and did reflect—must be aware that the establishment of incipient communities was widely opposed to co-operative institutions. They should go forth to the Government, and tell them that they had the opportunity of remedying the evils which now afflicted the kingdom, which they neglected; and that, therefore, the people were determined to take the matter into their hands, and do so themselves. Plain, straightforward, simple measures would effect our object. Go forward, in this manner, and state that you are determined to carry these measures, and you will make the public a party on your side, and your success will be certain. You must endeavour to obtain a greater portion of the favour and patronage of the public than you now enjoy. I would recommend that an endeavour should be made to cause the Government to come forward, and take into their own hands, or bring forward, some plan (a practicable measure) to remedy the evils we now labour under. If the Government were tardy in doing this, or absolutely refused to take any steps for this purpose, it would be the means of creating them powerful friends amongst the public, and thus render a most essential service to their cause—the cause of co-operation.

Mr. HIRST observed, that the steps recommended were the same as were then being taken by the co-operatives. He felt convinced that the refusal of Government would do more to promote the success of the work they had in hand, than their acquiescence to assist them, for the reasons assigned by Mr. Owen.

Mr. THOMPSON begged to ask in what manner they were to set about calling upon the Government to adopt those measures which the Co-operative Societies had in view? The members of those societies must not relax in *their exertions*, notwithstanding the coolness and apathy of the Government. We must prevail upon our friends to get up, even, little Co-operative Societies throughout the kingdom; by such means

our system will be known and talked of, and public opinion will be enlisted on our side; but, still, in pressing the carrying into effect minor measures, we must not neglect pursuing general ones.

Mr. OWEN thought that their present mode of proceeding was a very inefficient one. Their principles, he thought, could never be carried into effect without embracing the whole system of co-operation contemplated by its advocates. They must proceed to secure the good opinion of the public, before they could expect to overcome the obstacles which then opposed them. It would be much easier to accomplish the whole than a part. Let them come forward, then, in a body, and they would compel the adoption of their system, complete and well-organised in all its parts.

Mr. HIRST said he believed all were agreed upon the general principle of co-operation.

The following resolution was then carried unanimously:—

“That this congress highly approves of the document just read, and which has been adopted by the committee of delegates from the Co-operative Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, to the governments of Europe and America, and begs to recommend it to the serious attention of the public at large.”

CO-OPERATIVE MISSIONARIES.

The congress then proceeded to the further consideration of this question.

Mr. WARDEN proposed the following motion, which being duly seconded:—

“That this matter do stand over until it shall be determined whether the congress shall establish District Missionary Divisions in the empire.”

Mr. PARK considered there would be no difficulty in carrying into effect co-operative missions. He suggested the propriety of following in the steps of the religious missionary societies, both with respect to their mode of collecting subscriptions, and effecting their objects by means of travelling agents. He thought the resolutions adopted at the last congress ought to be carried into effect.

Mr. HIRST said that all appeared desirous of proceeding in the missionary undertaking without delay. He had heard some remarks made with respect to the name; but surely it could be of no consequence what name they gave the society; it would be judged of by its acts.

Mr. SMITH observed, that at a meeting of the second co-operative congress of delegates, which met at Birmingham in October last, a resolution was unanimously adopted, to the following effect:—“That the societies in every town and village in the United Kingdom, be earnestly requested by this congress, forthwith to appoint auxiliary committees, for

the purpose of collecting subscriptions, for the support of co-operative missions, and otherwise assisting the London committee; and to inform the London committee of such appointment, within one month," &c. He had found from experience, as one connected with Manchester, that at that town they were unable to carry that resolution into effect, arising from the total want of means. The co-operatives of Manchester had taken the subject of missions into their serious consideration; they had intended to form themselves into an organized body for that purpose, and then send forth the seeds of good fruit; but unfortunately they had no funds to pay the expence of a mission. He did not despair, however, for even the trifling subscription of one penny per week from the co-operatives of the kingdom would, in a few mouths, amount to several thousands of pounds. There were many in the town of Manchester who would give them all their aid, but they would not be compelled to trade at the shops of the society. Therefore it was necessary that they should organize themselves into a national body.

MR. SKEVINGTON thought it would be a death-blow to them if this suggestion was carried into effect. Everything ought to be voluntary. None ought to be under an obligation to subscribe to this fund for the support of missionaries, for he feared that by so compelling them to subscribe, they would lose a great portion of that support they had so fortunately secured. He would say, let there be invitations and excitements, but no obligations, no compulsion resorted to.

MR. SMITH feared he had been misunderstood. It did not follow that if they formed themselves into a missionary association, it compelled the members of the trading associations to subscribe to their funds.

After a few words from Mr. BENBOW, Mr. Warden's motion was carried unanimously.

DISTRICT COUNCILS.

MR. WARDEN then moved the following resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. Flather:—

"That the United Kingdom be divided into missionary co-operative districts, and that a council be appointed in each, to register the name of the societies in each district."

"That the following be named as the districts:—1. The Metropolis; 2. Birmingham; 3. Manchester; 4. Glasgow; 5. Belfast; 6. Dublin; 7. Cork; 8. Edinburgh; 9. Norwich."

"That the following persons form the council of each district, with power to form a representative council:—

"*London*—Messrs. Lovett, Benbow, A. Styles, M'Dermott, Flather, Wigg, Fowler, and Powell—Mr. Powell to act as Secretary.

“ *Birmingham*—Messrs. W. Pare and P. Bishop—Mr. Bishop to act as Secretary.

“ *Manchester*—Messrs. Colvill, Green, Kirkman, Smith, and Berry—Mr. Herry to act as Secretary.

“ *Glasgow*—Messrs. Hamilton, Campbell, Simpson, Miller, Boyd, Grey, Williams, M'Donnell, A. Campbell, and Harris—Mr. Harris to act as Secretary.

“ *Belfast*—Messrs. Beaty and Kennedy—Mr. Kennedy to act as Secretary.

“ *Dublin*—(The formation of this council to be left to Mr. Thompson.)

“ *Cork*—Mr. Thompson.—(The appointment of other members of the council to be left to Mr. Thompson.)

“ *EDINBURGH.*—Messrs. Mudie, Charles Grey and Sheddon.

“ *NORWICH.*—Messrs. Wiseman, Dent and Ballard—Mr. Ballard to act as secretary.”

Carried unanimously

Mr. WARDEN next moved—“ that a member be sent from the London Council, on its formation, to the Secretary of each District Council, calling upon the members named immediately to organize the Council, and make arrangements, according to the rules and regulations of the Congress, and to make an early report to the Metropolitan Council. The circular to be drawn up, and submitted to the Congress before sent.

Carried unanimously.

The next resolution was to the following effect:—

“ That these Councils shall have power to appoint missionaries, and to collect funds for defraying the expences of the same; and are requested, in every way, to promote the interests of Co-operative Societies throughout the kingdom, in each of their respective districts.

Mr. Watkins and Mr. Caldwell objected to this resolution but it was ultimately carried.

Mr. WATKINS felt extremely desirous that the question of labour and labour-banks should be decided. It was a most important question, and demanded their most serious attention. He moved that laws and regulations be drawn up (to be submitted to Congress) for the guidance of the district councils.

Carried unanimously.

It being nearly one o'clock, and the public meeting being announced to take place at that hour, Mr. TUCKER proposed an adjournment.—Carried.

ADJOURNED PUBLIC MEETING.

The meeting adjourned from Monday till Wednesday, was

held at the appointed hour of one o'clock, on this day, in the large room of the Institution.

The Rev. Mr. DUNN, a clergyman of the Church of England, proposed that the Rev. Dr. Wade should take the chair, and in doing so, expressed the gratification which he felt in thus co-operating in a cause which contemplated the benefit of his fellow creatures. (Cheers).

The motion having been seconded and unanimously carried,

Dr. WADE took the chair, and addressed the meeting as follows:—However happy I might feel in taking the chair at a meeting, the object of which is to further the welfare of my fellow creatures, I cannot help expressing painful feelings at the cause of the absence of Mr. Owen, who has this morning been deprived of his youngest daughter by death. After stating this, I feel assured that no further apology for Mr. Owen's absence will be deemed necessary. The present is a meeting adjourned from Monday, and its object is to spread a knowledge of those means by which the distress which exists among the industrious classes of this country may be removed. Every one who was present at the last meeting, must have been struck with the intelligence and clear-headedness displayed by the portion of the industrious classes who took part in the proceedings of that day. From the knowledge which they manifested, and the manner in which they behaved, I do not hesitate to say that they are worthy to be taken by the hand by their richer neighbours. (Cheers). As a clergyman of the established church, I saw nothing dishonourable in their object, nor any violence in their proposed measures. The state of distress in this country will not allow of any feeling of neutrality. We behold want, with all its complicated miseries, driving men to acts of violence and crime; and really, if I were suffering from that intensity of wretchedness which so widely prevails, I could not answer for the acts which I might commit. (Hear). This degree of want, however, I do not feel; but when I behold the other extreme of wealth, I cannot help joining in the prayer of Agar, that I may neither have riches nor poverty. (Cheers). Partial remedies for the evils now desolating the industrious classes have been tried, and issued in failure; and it is evident, that nothing but united effort or co-operation, will succeed. Is it not shocking to know, that the poor have been insulted and mocked,—that they have been set to dig holes, and then fill them up again,—that they have been passed from parish to parish, and often died of want or infirmity by the way? God never designed such miseries for his creatures; he has surrounded us with abundant means of comfort and support; and to withhold them from those who want, is the highest treason against heaven! (Cheers). The general emigration so much recommended, I cannot view with any satisfaction. When there is

abundance of land in this country, and the means to render it far more than sufficient to maintain every Englishman, is it not hard and unjust that any should be forced from their native home? (Cheers). But when Providence thus supplies the natural means of plenty, it intends that men should then take up the subject in a proper manner, and make all comfortable and happy. Of the proceedings of the co-operative congress I entirely approve, for their measures would realize independence by industry. (Cheers). Englishmen do not want to be supported by any means but their own industry; and as an instance, I may mention the Spitalfield weavers, who refused to have their distress relieved in any shape but that of employment. (Cheers). That was indeed true nobility of spirit which must come to the hearts of the rich, and make them admire the principles of relief by industry, implied in the co-operative system. I will not further delay you, but merely say, that as a clergyman, I stand as a sort of connecting link between the poor and the rich; but if the alternative were to be chosen, I would sooner sink with the poor than rise with the rich.—(Great cheering.)

Letters were then read by the secretary from Lord Bolton, Leigh Hunt, Esq. and Col. Evans. after which

Mr. CARSON proposed the first resolution, "That with a view of creating an enlightened public opinion on subjects of every importance connected with the welfare and happiness of society, and thereby effecting a peaceable and desirable change in the condition of all classes, this meeting impressively urges on the attention of the legislature the great necessity of removing all impediments to the cheap diffusion of knowledge, and promoting, by every means in its power, the establishment of schools, libraries, and reading-rooms, in every town and village in the United Kingdom."—Mr. Carson said, that he thought government might expect that some great change was about to take place, when working men came hundreds of miles from the country to propose such a resolution as that which he had read. (Cheers). It asked the diffusion of knowledge from government, and would they refuse it when they beheld the wretchedness, violence, and crime, which ignorance had produced? But if the legislature would not thus assist the working classes, on one thing they were determined—that they would help themselves! (Cheers).—Mr. Carson then alluded to the origin and progress of the co-operative society at Leeds, which beginning its operations with six shillings, laid out in the purchase of candles, gradually increased its trade and capital, till it had been able to open a large co-operative store in Liverpool, containing almost every article of British manufacture; while the agent was enabled to make advantageous purchases of foreign articles in the market. This showed, that the working classes if united, could produce wealth and enjoy it. They

were determined to become masters for themselves, and never cease their exertions till they could stand in the image and likeness of their Maker, and call no man master. (Cheers). They did not, however, indulge any ill feelings towards masters; and in many instances they had succeeded in dissuading men from hostile unions to raise wages; for they were assured that such unions were not founded on correct principles. But while co-operation would increase the physical comforts of man, and obtain a few of the good things of this life, it wished to increase knowledge. When a society was established, it was necessary for them to have a room, this they turned into a school room, and, by way of saving expence, they turned their secretary into the school-master. (Cheers). The moral effect which such efforts produced, was great and striking: where a co-operative society was formed, the public-house was generally the sufferer. (Cheers). He would here take the opportunity to declare that, though many had been prevented joining the cause of co-operation from supposing that it included none but Deists among its members, in the part of the country from which he came, people co-operated from Christian principles, (Cheers). He himself was a Christian co-operator, and certain he was, that there was no inconsistency between Christianity and co-operation. (Cheers). They had, however, excluded all sectarianism both in politics and religion, as they determined to preserve a charitable feeling to all. In alluding to the competitive system Mr. Carson observed that it was in the extreme, grinding and oppressive; and that after customers had bitten at the master, and the master at the man, there was nothing left for the workmen to snap at (laughter). But they had now their eye upon a very important undertaking, the establishment of labour banks, by the means of which they proposed to exchange labour for equal labour, which would enable the industrious always to find a market for their productions. After alluding to the estimation in which co-operative societies were held, he said that a gentleman who had visited congress had offered to let their society have a thousand acres of land for a community (cheers). He must confess the gratification he felt on beholding the approach of an extinction of sectarian feeling, and that they had now among them churchmen and dissenters, and ministers of every Christian denomination, who would shew what great triumphs could be obtained by unity and co-operation (cheers).

Mr. FLATHER seconded the resolution, and stated that the co-operative society of Poland-street, Oxford-street, to which he belonged, was formed three years ago. About fifty persons then found themselves pressed by difficulties, arising from the bad state of trade: they united as co-operators, and the result had been that they were now able to rent premises at 80l. per annum; that they had a library, and read-

ing rooms, and philosophical lectures were delivered; and they frequently had assemblies and balls (cheers). Thus, by their own exertions, the proverb was illustrated, that heaven would help those who helped themselves. (Cheers.) I was by knowledge that such, and much greater, benefits were produced, which belonged exclusively to no party or sect, and ought to be universally diffused, It was absurd to suppose that the union of so many parties was not efficient. A gentleman connected with the bar had offered them a large institution in the immediate neighbourhood of Westminster, of great annual value, rent free, for one year; and at the expiration of that period, if the society desired to rent the building, he would take the amount of rent in their co-operative notes. He brought this fact forward to show to the meeting the feeling which was manifested by all liberal persons in favour of co-operation. He sincerely hoped, in the language of the resolution he had the pleasure to second, that an enlightened opinion would be created in the minds of the public, connected with the welfare and happiness of society; which would, most certainly, be the means of effecting a peaceable and desirable change in the condition of all classes (cheers).

Mr. WARDEN also supported the motion. The resolution speaks of schools. Thank God! schools—for indeed “the schoolmaster is abroad”—schools are now pretty generally established. We have instituted a new school—a labour exchange, not for the purpose, I can assure you, of creating work (for in that particular we have all been pretty well drilled), but to enable us to enjoy the fruits of our labour. We have effected, within a period of only six weeks, 899 labour exchanges. This fact, I am sure, will convince all those present how much good it is in our power to effect by co-operation. We will urge upon the government to take off all those restrictions which press so heavily and unequally upon the working classes. If the legislature refuse to do this, why, then we have the power in our own hands. We will dry up the sources of wealth, as to them, and there’s an end of the enjoyments of the enemies of the labouring population. They will tell us that they will take care of their *own* interests. Then we can do the same with respect to ours. I trust that the legislature will see the benefit which will accrue to all classes by taking the tax off knowledge, which are as odious in their operation as they are partially enforced (loud cheering).

The resolution was carried unanimously.

[At this period Joseph Hume, Esq. M. P., made his appearance upon the platform, and was received with loud and long continued cheering.]

Mr. FIRST (Delegate from Huddersfield) moved the next resolution and addressed the meeting. He consi-

dered no subject of so much importance to all classes as that of endeavouring to make their fellow creatures contented and happy. That question had engrossed his attention for many years. The working classes had been maligned by the world, and insulted by their superiors. He considered the working classes to be the most honourable, because they were the most useful classes of society. Some persons in the world had thought that the poor were made for their mere convenience, others that one man was made for a lord, and the other manufactured to be a beggar all his days (laughter). Was this, he would ask, the first principle of the first great Cause? God had provided enough for them all—nay, more than enough—and England might become, what she ought to be, the Paradise of the world. Mr. Hirst then dilated upon the various and complicated evils of the present system, particularly the abominable and unjust law of primogeniture. Various men attributed the evils now existing to various causes: some to primogeniture—some to the funding system—some to the paper currency—some to the East India Company—some to the Aristocracy—some to the Corn Laws; but it was really owing to the ignorance of the working classes themselves. That ignorance, however, would not last long—the schoolmaster had gone abroad—he had got into Yorkshire, and the ignorant Yorkshiremen now knew great B. from a bull's foot (cheers and laughter). The evils of which they complained arose from all these causes, combined with others of which he perhaps might make mention. These were the causes of the present anomalous state of things—a few excessively rich, and millions extremely poor. Strange that riches should lead to poverty, abundance to want—and plenty to starvation. He trusted this would not be put in printed history, for generations unborn would think those who lived in the present day could not be right in their heads (cheers). Some persons had said the Government should remedy these evils—but no Government could do it, so as to meet the exigencies of the present constitution. The remedy was co-operation; they must work for themselves—they must unite and gain knowledge—and union, combined with knowledge, was the most powerful engine by which despotism could be overthrown or good effected (cheers).

Mr. WATSON next addressed the meeting. It had not been his intention to have troubled the meeting with any address upon the present occasion; but, as an individual who had taken some little part in co-operation and politics, he could not resist the opportunity which now offered itself to attempt a reply to the observations of Mr. Hirst, the Huddersfield Delegate, who had just resumed his seat. I candidly assure you, Sir, from my heart, (said Mr. W.) that I most cordially coincide in the sentiments expressed in the resolution which has been proposed; and it is on that account that I cannot conceal from this meeting that I totally differ with some of those remarks

which have been made upon it. I have stated that I perfectly agree with the words of the resolution; and I will tell you why. It calls upon this meeting to urge the necessity—and, indeed, the necessity is great—of removing all those shackles upon, and impediments to, the diffusion of cheap knowledge which now exist. It likewise pledges us to promote, by every means in our power—and our efforts should not be wanting—the establishment of schools, libraries, and reading-rooms, in every town and village throughout the united kingdom. Now, I can only say, as far as I am individually concerned, that I will co-operate with you; not only to give to all information—sound, useful information—but to enable those to whom it is given to understand it (bravo!). Let me tell you, the Government feels no interest in promoting the circulation of useful knowledge. It would rather stem the torrent of intelligence, if it could, than suffer it to proceed onwards in its course. Those who are deeply interested in the diffusion of knowledge of every kind are the working classes—the hard, industrious labourers—and, therefore, we may expect little or no assistance from a Government which has always trampled upon them. I am one of those who desire that knowledge should be given to the people without calling upon the Government to allow it; I am an advocate for the diffusion of really useful knowledge, without even their sanction, and therefore I am pointed at by the Government as a friend to violence, and the promoter of confusion (cries of question from the platform). I am applying myself to the question—strictly so; though, I must confess, many of those who have spoken before me wandered wide from the subject of the resolution. I listened to them with great pleasure, as far as co-operation was concerned, though the resolution which had been proposed had no reference to that subject. I contend, that if we seek to diffuse cheap knowledge by establishing schools and libraries throughout the kingdom, we must look to ourselves, and not to the Government, who have endeavoured, by every means the law gives them, to put down cheap knowledge. My friend from Huddersfield has said that the Government must put the law in force, even though it be bad. I maintain, however, that it is no such thing. They ought not to put such a law in force—they must not—they shall not (cheers). I, and other men who are called violent, will compel them to repeal the laws against cheap knowledge—not by force, but by suffering; we will show the Government that, in a good cause, suffering improves and incites a virtuous mind. The law punishes us for being ignorant, whilst it, at the same time, associates those men who are seeking to destroy ignorance in a prison with thieves and felons. I am one of the humble classes, dependent on my own exertions for my daily bread, and I can therefore duly appreciate the value of knowledge. Talk of appealing to the Government, indeed! What are its acts? What

has it done for us? Nothing! Nothing, my friends; or rather worse than nothing (cheering). Mr. Hirst said, on Monday last, that it was necessary to put bad laws in force; or rather that the Government could do no other than prosecute Mr. Carpenter for giving unstamped knowledge to the people. I trust that Mr. Hirst by this time is convinced of his error, and that he sees his reasoning was as fallacious as it was impolitic. I hope soon to see him at this table reading his recantation, and repenting of his error (cries of question, question, from two or three persons on the platform). I am not to be disconcerted or put down by clamour, when I am speaking strictly to the question (hear, hear). We will make this Government, I say, repeal the taxes on knowledge. Small as we may be in numbers, our cause is a righteous one, and it must succeed. We will make no appeal to force; we stand forth in a cause that is good, and we fear not the result (cheers). The odious laws of which we complain I will defy any one to justify. My friend, Henry Hetherington, is also called a violent man; and why? Because he wished to see the public protected and instructed. Our conduct through life, and our actions, have been solely guided by honesty and truth. I must again advert to the proposition for appealing to the government upon this subject. What is the use of that? Think you that they desire the poor should have cheap knowledge? Certainly not. Think you they have any desire for equal laws, and an impartial administration of them? You cannot, when you see them prosecuting and sending to prison scores of men for selling penny papers, while they refuse to prosecute the rich man's paper—the Literary Gazette—though containing large quantities of news, and published without a stamp. That showed evidently, that those who are in a sufficiently "respectable" situation in life to afford eightpence, may have news without a fourpenny stamp; but that the poor man, who toils from morning till night, and who could but ill afford a penny for the purchase of mental food, was to be deprived of even the benefit of a pennyworth. (Cheers.) They had all recently seen and heard much of the Penny Magazine, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge: and some persons had been so foolish as to commend the honourable and right honourable persons composing that society, for thus coming forward. But what was the description of cheap knowledge they were giving to the people? Was it calculated to be of any real use to them? Had it any tendency to improve their condition, by giving them more of the fruits of their own labour? Would it lead them any better to understand their rights, or to comprehend and act upon the principles of co-operation? No. They had been amusing the people with the fruit of their antiquarian researches, about Charing Cross; and the fruit of their natural researches, in

descriptions of the Zoological Gardens. That was all very well, and very useful in its place; but while he and others—tens of thousands of others—felt degraded in the land of their birth, having no participation in their political or social rights, and carrying about the brand of the slave on their foreheads, they were not in a condition to sit down coolly and philosophically to such investigations. But the diffusion of knowledge society had done something more than give them penny magazines. They had founded mechanics' institutes. Yes. But they had taken care to exclude from them all political and theological discussions. It was, doubtless, wise in them to erect such institutions, because through their means they taught the people the art of superintending the use of machinery in the creation of wealth, from the enjoyment of which they were almost wholly excluded. Yes; they were furnishing in the midst of the abundance of their own producing. In conclusion, Mr. W. remarked, that though he was what was called a political agitator, he was really and sincerely a co-operator; and he was so for years before many of those whom he now addressed had thought upon the subject. (Cheers.) Although he disagreed with Mr Owen upon some points of minor importance, he agreed with him, that co-operation was like the land of promise, and that men must pass into it before they could rationally expect permanent peace, security, and happiness. The key to his (Mr. W.'s) conduct, which seemed so greatly to perplex some of his friends, was this: he thought that if a man could not comprehend his political rights, he could not comprehend and appreciate his social ones. He believed that no man was fit for the social state who did not know and comprehend the political principles of Thomas Paine. (Great cheering.) He should now take his leave of that assembly with the greatest cordiality of feeling, notwithstanding the little misunderstanding that had just occurred. He felt no hostility against a single individual—not even against those who had got him in their clutches. He believed they were all the creatures of circumstances, although the difficulties and perplexities to which the present state of things subjected him, as well as others, rendered it impossible for him always to act and speak with that philosophic coolness which such a doctrine induced. He saw around him men of all sects and creeds, and he rejoiced in the circumstance; for he agreed in the sentiment of Pope—

For modes of faith let senseless bigots fight;
He can't be wrong whose life is in the right.—(Cheers.)

But there was another noble sentiment penned by the hand of Byron—an apostrophe to fleeting opinion, with which he (Mr. W.) was equally delighted, and by quoting which, he would conclude his observations:—

Son of the morning, rise! approach you here!
 Come, but molest not you defenceless urn:
 Look on this spot—a nation's sepulchre!
 Abode of gods, whose shrines no longer burn.
 E'en gods must yield—religions take their turn:
 'Twas Jove's—'tis Mahomet's—and other creeds
 Will rise with other years, till man shall learn
 Vainly his incense soars, his victim bleeds;
 Poor child of doubt and death, whose hope is built on reeds.

Mr. WATSON sat down amidst great cheering.

Mr. CLEAVE rose and said, it had been customary to speak of the Radicals as being pioneers to introduce politics or subjects unpleasant; *here* the case was the reverse, as the co-operators had on *this* occasion, and on this question, run through the whole circle of politics, commencing with primogeniture, and ending with the probable results of the second reading of the Reform Bill. (Laughter.) Such being the case, there could not be the shadow of an objection to the question being treated as it ought to be, though others had, with the exception of his friend Watson, made it the mere excuse for saying that which they had all heard with so much delight on other occasions. He was not much surprised at the rudeness of some, who when they heard opinions differing from their own, chose to hiss and disturb; as he had invariably found those who were the loudest to *talk* about charity and forbearance, the most ready to show how boorish they were. He did not quite agree with those who thought we ought not to apply to the legislature to remove the impediments to the diffusion of useful knowledge, though he was quite certain it would be useless—yet he would avail himself of every opportunity afforded to create public opinion, and, in particular, as to petitioning, that the government might be left without excuse. Mr. Finch had wished them to apply to the legislature for national schools: had they not national schools already?—though the craft of those above them placed a barrier at the entrance, and made them any thing but national; as the Church catechism effectually excluded thousands of conscientious persons who *could not, and would not*, allow their children to be taught to order themselves lowly and reverently to all their betters, with sundry other slavish notions, their souls abhorred. All they desired was to be let *alone* in this respect, and to be so governed as that they could afford to instruct themselves and their children in that they knew would make them happy. (Cheers.) He thought that those who said we ought to *obey* all existing laws, did not reason or reflect on what they stated, or they would at once see the impossibility of assembling as a Congress—as *by law*, they could not come together from distant parts of the country to represent the persons who sent them, without incurring fine, imprisonment, or transportation. (Hear, hear.) As to their proceedings, and the

delightful statements they had heard of the progress of their principles, was it not absurd to suppose they could have patience to wait thirty days from the publication of one part (at such a price as would bring it within the reach of all), till the other made its appearance? Such was the nature of the odious taxes on knowledge, that by putting on paper, in a cheap form, that intelligence which had so gladdened their own hearts, for the advantage of those who could not attend, or who lived in a distant part of the country, they who published were placed in jeopardy, and ran the risk of a visit from the Attorney-General. He and a few others, seeing the folly of attempting to make their principles known, except through a cheap press, had determined at all hazards, to accomplish this important object; and now more than 150 persons had been, and were, sent to mix with felons in the worst prisons of the metropolis. (Shame.) He, and those with whom he acted, had nothing in view but "the greatest happiness of the greatest number;" and they would be ashamed to say aught they did not feel to be true, or *not* to say and do what they knew to be just. Whatever they had been represented to have said or done was alike indifferent to them: they only asked to be judged by their actions, and by them they willingly made their stand. The principles of co-operation were dear to him, but unless passive resistance was offered to the odious laws that now fettered the press, and they who offered that resistance were supported, he saw not the slightest prospect of their views ever being realized.

The resolution was then put and carried.

Mr. PARE then rose and said, the Congress of delegates had prepared a most important document, which he was now about to read for the adoption of that meeting. It was an address to the governments of Europe and America. He proceeded to read the Address, as follows:—

"We address you in the spirit of peace, of justice, and of goodwill; but also as men claiming the right of performing the highest services of humanity.

"We know and feel that ignorance and error have made man imbecile and miserable; the evil is even now vividly present to our minds, and we believe that we well know, by the experience of the past, that man may now be transformed to become virtuous, intelligent, and happy, all his wants being fully supplied; and that we also know the practical steps by which this change can be effected. It is a glorious task, designed to be accomplished in the present day, and we invite you, with ardent feelings for your own safety and happiness, to unite among yourselves and with us, in commencing the great and good work without delay: that those now living may have some foretaste of the perpetually increasing improvement and enjoyment which this generation is, by the new circumstances evidently arising, destined to prepare for succeeding generations.

"We seek a change of principles and of practice, to be effected

by existing governments, in preference to any mere change of men. It is not disorder or confusion we desire, but a change from evil to good, without causing thereby injury to any individual of the human race.

“The old system of governing and directing mankind is worn out; its incompetency to remove the causes of vice and misery is now apparent to every reflecting mind,—its sufficiency to create them is equally apparent.

“Another system, derived from facts and experience, is now required; a system which shall remove the causes of all the evils which have so long afflicted humanity, and we are prepared now to develop such a system, and to submit it for your consideration. We thus offer it from a conviction, that upon a fair investigation you will find it founded in truth, and capable of being applied most advantageously to immediate practice in every country; not only in Europe and America, but in every part of the world.

“In this system we discard all considerations of religious sects and political parties: we know but one religion, which is Truth derived from facts well ascertained, and but one party, which is composed of those who will ardently engage in applying the Truth, so obtained, upon all subjects, to practice, for the benefit of the human race.

“Aided by the power you now possess, and with the consent of the people whose happiness you would promote, arrangements may be completed, in a short period, by which wealth may be produced so easily and pleasantly in every part of the world, that poverty and the causes of it may be for ever removed from the human race, and, in consequence, contests for property would entirely cease.

“From the education which you have received you may, perhaps, at first deem these statements wild and visionary; THEY ARE NOT SO; it is true, we are plain obscure men, but we have deeply studied these subjects both in principle and practice; and judging from facts within our own knowledge, we have no doubt respecting the complete attainment of all the results which have been stated.

“We have thus placed before you our own convictions of the practicability of now relieving, in a short period, Europe and America from the direful effects produced by a false and most highly injurious state of society, miscalled civilization.

“We are most desirous of uniting the best powers of all mankind in bringing about this glorious change in the shortest possible period, that the sufferings of humanity, which, among many classes are now almost beyond endurance, may terminate; that all may be prepared, as speedily as the requisite practical arrangements will admit, to enjoy that healthy and sound state of existence, which a true knowledge of human nature and of society can alone create, and permanently maintain.

“Amongst such practical arrangements, we would particularly call your attention to the following:—That equal education, and THAT, too, the best which human knowledge can now devise, should be imparted to every human being, male and female, under your respective authority, and that such new institutions

or modifications of present institutions, should be immediately introduced, as would secure to every human being all the comforts and conveniences of life, in return for such improved facilities exercised for the common good; an object which would be easily effected by the union of adequate numbers, and the proper application of their labour, supplying their mutual wants through the medium of agricultural and manufacturing operations.

"We desire most sincerely that this change may be effected without even temporary evil; that not even a single individual should be injured by it, in mind, body, or estate; and to accomplish the godlike purpose, no efforts on our parts shall be wanting. Whatever others may deem right to do under the new circumstances arising, and hourly advancing, we shall, with singleness of purpose, endeavour to stay the passions of men, which instigate them to violence, for their own hurt, and, if possible, bring men under the direction of calm reason, and the influence of charitable and kind feelings for all mankind.

"Having thus stated our convictions of the capital errors, on which society has been founded from the beginning until now, and our desires relative to the charitable and kind mode of effecting the change to a superior state of human existence, we proceed to state our own resolves, and the determination which we hold, we believe, in common with all the intelligent and well-disposed of the industrious classes, wherever the mind has been allowed the liberty of free thought and expression.

"We know all men desire to be happy.

"We know all men cannot be happy unless their natural wants shall be provided for, without over-care or anxiety.

"We know men cannot be happy unless they be virtuous.

"We know that man cannot become virtuous until he shall be taught to have his highest pleasure in promoting the happiness of his fellows, without any exceptions on account of individual differences of opinion, or any other cause whatever.

"We know man cannot thus act so long as he is constrained to remain in ignorance, in poverty, or in fear of it, or made to acquire prejudices or notions in opposition to facts.

"We believe that we know the mode of education and the particular combination of circumstances by which man may be made a superior being to what he now is, or has been, as far as is known from history by the existing race of men.

"And we believe we also know the social and economical arrangements by which all his wants may be, with pleasure to the producers of wealth, amply provided for, without desiring the possessions of those who are now the holders of superfluous property.

"We know that the intelligent and well-disposed of the industrious classes are in possession of the power and means to effect this mighty revolution in the affairs of mankind, by their union and practical knowledge, without the aid of the wealthy or of the higher classes, whose knowledge (experience wofully proves) is of little use to them, and it must be now evident to all, that the latter cannot exist without the continued assistance of the former.

"Yet, as this portion of the industrious classes desires to establish

in the shortest possible time, peace, order, goodwill, and happiness among all men, they are anxious that the wealthy and higher classes, as heretofore, should LEAD and pursue the measures which shall be developed, to gradually effect this long desired change; this consummation of man's hopes and wishes.

"There is, in every country, an abundant supply of all materials requisite to put these measures into immediate practice; sufficient to give at once the most valuable employment to all the industrious classes over Europe and America, by which the real wealth of both continents may be greatly increased; there is, in truth, nothing wanting to ensure peace, order, prosperity, and happiness over the world, but practical wisdom on the part of governments, and corresponding knowledge of their own interests on the part of the industrious classes.

"We express this sentiment, not with a view to displease, but honestly to inform you and the world, that the proper remedies may now be applied to put an immediate stop to human misery.

"With anxiety for your welfare, and the permanent peace of the world, we sincerely hope that you will co-operate with us. For be assured that our resolve is not to lend the aid of any of our powers longer to support a system which has generated only violence, fraud, and disunion, and which, being founded on false principles, is a foe to real knowledge, and, in consequence, can produce only vice and crime continually.

"Choose, therefore, which course you will pursue; whether you will lead us openly, fairly, and at once, in the direct path to wisdom, union, perpetually increasing prosperity and happiness, or abide by your past and present wretched and futile proceedings. In the former case we will follow you with alacrity, will lend you our utmost aid, and protect you from all evil; in the latter, we will no longer look up to you for relief, or to be our guides or directors. We shall not oppose you by violence, because, without the aid of the productive classes we know you are powerless; but we shall henceforth form arrangements "to take our own affairs into our own hands," to produce for ourselves, and to enjoy that which our industry and knowledge shall thus provide for us.

"As, however, the peace and happiness of the world will be more easily and speedily effected and secured by the existing governments, (if so informed and inclined) directing the great and glorious change, which is to emancipate the world from ignorance, oppression, and vice—a change which man can no longer delay—we ardently desire that the individuals directing these governments may now acquire sufficient useful practical wisdom to discern, through the signs of the times, the wonderful crisis which is brought about by the sufferings of the industrious classes, (produced by a most unnatural and unnecessary demoralizing competition) in this our day; and that seeing this, they will also perceive and understand the good to be obtained, beyond the powers of man to estimate, and pledge themselves to lead this glorious moral revolution; and also that they may discover the evil which must befall them and their adherents, if they longer attempt to resist the change which the progress of events and the interests of mankind demand.

"Thus shall you proclaim peace and good-will, and entirely remove the evils of ignorance, disunion, fraud, violence, crime and misery, from among mankind for ever."

The Rev. THOS. MACCONNELL, in moving the resolution, "That the meeting highly approved of this Address," said that, in his own opinion, it was unnecessary for him to offer any remark, after the interesting document itself had been read. The object of proposing this Address, was not so much to bring the subjects it contained before the governments, to whom it was addressed, as before the public at large; and he thought that there was not a single expression in it which could offend any mind, or prevent the governments from reading it. Indeed, it was only through the good and charitable spirit which was manifested to men, that their ears and hearts could be gained. (Cheers.) He felt assured that the Address could not be rejected on any ground of its own. It proposed to benefit many, without injuring one; and who could object to such a proposition? He would here again declare, that the spirit in which things were done, was one half towards the accomplishment of any object in the present state of society; he therefore hoped, that this resolution would be carried in that good spirit which all must admire.

Mr. ROSSETT said, he rose with much pleasure to second the resolution. It appeared to him, that the document which they had heard read, contained sentiments and measures of the highest importance to mankind. The working classes of all countries were reduced to a condition, lower than which it was impossible to conceive that they could go; and it was therefore necessary for those who knew how this distressing state had been brought about, to lay before the country the means to be pursued to relieve them—and with them all other classes. It was a glorious sign of the times, that the working classes took these things into consideration, and were anxious not only to ameliorate their own condition, but to act for the benefit of all mankind. In whatever situation men were placed, happiness depended on performing acts of benevolence: the working classes were acting on this principle. By the document which had been read, men would be at once put in the possession of that system which had been developed by the highly intelligent and purely-hearted Robert Owen. It did not attack men, but the system which had reduced the working classes to distress, not only in this country, but in all others. It was founded on the principle of charity, which led men to accomplish all possible ameliorations for their fellow-creatures. Those who knew that evil proceeds from ignorance, could not be offended at the results of such a cause, as exhibited in individual conduct. Those who knew that character was formed by circumstances, must feel that charity which embraced all. This

was the only universal principle that ever had been presented to the world. The great importance of the Address, therefore, was not in calling upon the Governments of Europe and America to alter some details in their national practices, but to lay before the world principles, which must come into general operation in a longer or a shorter time. (Cheers.) The very opposition which they excited, gave birth to increased activity and energy, which would not be manifested in hostility to any men, but be directed against the present system alone. Government was called upon to co-operate in producing that state in which every man, as it were, would sit under his own vine and fig tree. (Cheers.) The system advanced in the memorial was founded on intelligence, and had a direct tendency to make men virtuous and wise. Mr. Rosser then said, that he hailed with pleasure the exertions of Messrs. Cleave and Watson, to obtain the liberty of the press, and thence the spread of knowledge ; for all men must know that knowledge was desirable. But he deprecated an hostile attack on Government, for continuing laws which they might not have the immediate power to repeal. In all remarks on others, they should feel and display that spirit of charity, which felt no anger to man. The only chance of salvation for the working classes, was, by energetically and peacefully acting for themselves. If they united intelligence with exertion, what could resist them ? They had justice, christianity, and charity, on their side. Let them, therefore, go on ; for if they did not succeed to-day they would succeed to-morrow. (Cheers.) It had happened hitherto, that they had been attacked by certain parties and sects, in that spirit which he now hoped to see eradicated from society, by charity and co-operation. (Cheers.)

The resolution for adopting the memorial was then put from the chair and carried unanimously.

The Chairman having left the Chair, and being succeeded in it by Mr. SAULL, thanks were voted for his services, with great acclamation.

Dr. WADE, after returning thanks, remarked, that as a clergyman of the Church, he must declare that he conceived the tithe system to be an evil, that he should be most happy to see it abolished, and that he never wished to receive a farthing from his fellow-creatures for which he did not give some benefit in return. (Tremendous cheering.) In reference to the doctrine of human perfectibility, held by Mr. Owen, Dr. Wade said, that there was no disadvantage in men trying to become perfect, though entire perfection might not be realized. This conduct reminded him of that mathematical figure called an Asymptote, which proves the possibility of continual approximation without ever meeting. So we may go on towards perfection ; and St. Paul says, " Cha-

city is the bond of perfectness." However, no man could do wrong in doing good, and those who did their duty here, he would venture to say would not be much short of happiness hereafter. (Cheers.) In alluding to the fate of Poland, and the conduct of Russia, which he severely censured, he said the danger of power was there strikingly illustrated; and that it was the duty of a people to stand up and curb power wherever it existed. (Great cheering.)

The meeting was then dissolved.

PRIVATE MEETING OF CONGRESS.

Wednesday Evening, Six o'Clock.

MR. VANDELEUR'S ESTABLISHMENT.

Mr. HIRST having been called to the chair,

Mr. MALONY (from Co. Clare, Ireland) rose, and gave some highly interesting information relative to the Co-operating Societies in the South of Ireland. He said that his brother-in-law, Mr. Vandeleur, became acquainted with the principles of Mr. Owen in the year 1826. He had farmed 600 acres of land for the last seven years; but last year the *Black-feet* and *White-feet* commenced their operations, murdered his steward, and threatened to murder himself and children. Upon this he called the people together, spoke to them of the direful effects of their system, and stated his intention to proceed on the plan laid down by Mr. Owen. He found many opposed to it; but he got twenty persons together, and they worked for three weeks, and began to understand the plan. They soon diffused the knowledge of it, and now the society was in full and flourishing operation. Since its commencement, there had not been a single case of drunkenness or quarrel; nor had there been observed any immorality. (Hear, hear.) He wished to remove from the public mind the erroneous idea, that co-operative societies were dangerous to the landed interest. It was quite the reverse; for while co-operation increased the happiness of the individuals included in it, it tended to strengthen the property of the landholders. There was not a single member in Mr. Vandeleur's society but had a good coat, shoes, shirt, &c. They had a committee, consisting of nine persons, composed of carpenters, shoemakers, &c.; and their secretary was Mr. Craig of Manchester, to whose able and indefatigable exertions he gave the utmost praise. They had also a labour-exchange bank, where the labourers exchanged labour-notes for any necessities they might require. Catholic, protestant, and dissenting clergymen had made purchases there, and had declared they found no objection to the system. There were also lectures given by Mr. Craig; and dances twice a week, on Thursdays and Sun-

days. The society had also a rule regarding marriages. Any person wishing to marry a woman within the society, signified his intention to the secretary, and notice was posted up that a new cottage was required. If the woman were not in the society, she was required to labour in it for a week, in order that her character and disposition might be known to the community. Mr. Malony thought this rather an invidious rule, and therefore proposed in its place, that the person wishing to marry should give notice of his intention to the committee, who should instruct a sub-committee to go and inquire into the character of the woman; and if approved of, that she should be admitted by ballot. There was no spirituous liquor within the society, nor had there been any attempt at smuggling any in. Under their system, one man could do the work of ten under the old system; the explanation of which was, *that they worked at a task appointed by themselves, and that for their own benefit.* They had now also added a reaping machine, and would therefore be able to apply more of their time to building. The committee fixed every arrangement with regard to work, &c. Mr. Vandeleur managed the rent thus: he took the average of seven years' farming according to the old system, and required the members to give him so much butter, cattle, and other articles. He (Mr. Malony) would mention an instance which would tend to illustrate the flourishing state of the society. A Scotchman, named M'Kinnon, came to erect a thrashing machine for them: Mr. Vandeleur offered him a farm of 100 acres; but the Scotchman being of a very close disposition, it was with difficulty that any opinion could be elicited from him. He, however, said of the co-operators—"They quite astonish me; I never could have thought they would have got on so well. They have twenty-five or thirty *Terry Alts* among them; and since they have been in the society, they are quite altered. I wish you could prevail on Mr. Vandeleur to take thirty more of them; it would be the best way to reclaim them."—There had also been a sick fund of one halfpenny per week; but, at a meeting lately held, it had been discontinued, because there was no case, nor any fear of sickness. Every married man has a cottage to himself; the single men slept in a long dormitory. There is also an infant school, which Mr. Craig superintends; the children are taught agriculture, and any of the trades they wish. The married people may either cook in their own cottage, or in the public kitchen. The single men dine by themselves, as do also the single women. Provisions are very cheap; mutton being only 4d. per lb. Mr. Vandeleur would wish a thorough good co-operator would come among them—one who well understood the woollen manufactory. He (Mr. V.) had established a linen manufactory; but when the stuff was brought to London, he was undersold by *twenty per cent.* It

was an excellent woollen county, however; almost every woman being able to spin: but no one understood the manufacturing of the wool. Women's wages were, upon the average, 5d. per diem; and 14lb. of potatoes could be purchased for 1½d. He wished to impress on the minds of the landed proprietors the great benefit that would result to them if they encouraged co-operation.

A delegate here enquired what religion the society professed?

Mr. MALONY answered, that the religion of the members was never enquired into; there were in the society men of all creeds, and they regularly attended their respective chapels. Mr. Malony concluded his very interesting detail amid the enthusiastic applause of the meeting.

DISTRICT DIVISIONS.

The following resolutions were next adopted, after some discussion:—

1. That the United Kingdom be divided into district divisions, and that a district council be established in each division.
2. That the following be the several district divisions at which councils shall be appointed to correspond generally with each other:—1. London, 2. Birmingham, 3. Manchester, 4. Glasgow, 5. Belfast, 6. Dublin, 7. Cork, 8. Edinburgh, 9. Norwich.
3. That the following persons be now appointed members of the respective representative councils in the respective places named, with power to add to their number:—London, Messrs. Styles, M'Diarmid, Fowler, Wigg, Flather, Warden, T. Powell. Birmingham, Messrs. Pare, John Powell, Bishop. Glasgow, Messrs. Harriston, W. Harriston, Campbell, Hamilton, Simpson, Miller, Boyd, B. Gray, Williamson, Macdonald. Belfast, Messrs. Beattie, Kennedy, M'Cormac. Dublin, ———. Cork, Mr. Thompson. Edinburgh, Messrs. Mudie, J. Gray, W. Sheddon. Norwich, Messrs. Wiseman, Bullen, Dent.
4. Resolved, That a circular be sent from the London council to the respective councils, to make arrangements in accordance with the previous resolutions, to urge their immediate attention to the matter, and that they be particularly requested to transmit, as early as possible, information of what they have done, to the London council.

Resolved, That these councils shall be empowered to manage the general measures calculated to promote the advancement of the principles and practice of co operation, including arrangements for extensive missionary exertion, in conformity with the instructions they receive from this congress.

The congress then adopted the following regulations for the guidance of the various district councils :—

- 1st. They shall meet once a week, if convenient, or oftener, if necessary.
2. They shall appoint and assist all co-operative missionaries in their district by funds, or other such means as they have in their power.
3. They shall communicate frequently with the societies in their respective districts, either by letter or personal visitation.
4. They shall assist in the formation of co-operative societies, and of labour exchanges, where practicable, and do all in their power to secure the welfare of every society in their district.
5. They shall report to the London council, on the first Monday in every month; and the London council shall report, within 14 days after to each of the councils in the United Kingdom.
6. The expenses of each council shall be defrayed by voluntary contributions or subscriptions in the district in which it is situated, by the members of co-operative societies or others; and that the council of districts be requested to require that their respective secretaries keep a list of such members as may be able and willing to furnish missionaries with accommodation."
7. In any district where the congress may be in future held, the council for the time being shall have the power of calling the same, and shall superintend all the arrangements relative thereto.

Mr. JACKSON having stated that some complaints had been alleged against Mr. Hirst, in reference to the Manchester contributions to the missionary fund, that gentleman was permitted to vacate the chair, which was occupied by Mr. Thompson, and satisfactorily purged himself from the imputations.

The Congress then adjourned till the next morning.

Thursday, April 26.—Seven o'clock, Morning.

Mr. HIRST was again called to the chair

Mr. PARE moved, "That the report of the whole proceedings of the Congress be printed in the form of a pamphlet, and published for the use of the co-operative societies throughout the kingdom; and that the editing of the same be entrusted to Mr. Carpenter, who was engaged in reporting the proceedings."

Mr. MARSHALL seconded the motion, which was adopted unanimously, and 2000 copies ordered to be printed.

LETTERS TO CONGRESS.

Mr. PARE then read a number of letters that had been addressed to the Congress from various societies.*

* See Appendix.

Mr. EATON, on the reading of a letter from Huddersfield, took occasion to remark, that much of the money which he received as agent of the North Western Co-operative Association at Liverpool, came to him directly, instead of coming through the bank. This mode of remittance not only prevented the bank from perceiving the extent of business which the association did, but engendered jealousies in some societies, the members of which might imagine their money not secure in his hands. He therefore hoped that all remittances would be made through the bank.

Mr. CARSON made some observations on co-operative stores, and said, that many of the failures arose from the members drawing out their money. Where this practice was allowed, no society could exist.

Mr. STYLES said, a division of capital had caused the embarrassment and probable ruin of the Westminster Society, to which he belonged, which had also been seriously injured by admitting credit into the system.

Mr. CALDWELL remarked, on the reading of a letter from the Manchester economical co-operative society, that the number of societies in that town had been reduced from ten to four, in consequence of adopting Mr. Fry's system in conducting their affairs of trade, and that if the mode in which they had acted, were any where adopted, ruin must ensue.

Mr. FOWLER thought that if trading co-operative societies were established at all, they should sell as cheap as possible; for if it were found that the commodities which they sold might be purchased cheaper elsewhere, the co-operative stores would of course be deserted, as had been the case in Manchester.

Mr. SKEVINGTON observed, that the trading societies in Manchester had attempted to undersell, which caused their ruin, as it introduced the destructive system of competition.

Mr. SIMPSON said that the whole of such remarks might be resolved into one great item, which was the necessity of establishing labour banks to facilitate the interchange of the productions of industry.

Mr. CARSON, in answer to a remark which had fallen from Mr. Fowler, said, that the co-operative stores in Manchester had always been able to sell as cheap as their neighbours.

The report of the Committee appointed to correct the minutes of the previous congress was then brought up, and received; as was also the report of the committee appointed to audit the report of the Liverpool Co-operative Company.

NORTH WESTERN CO-OPERATIVE COMPANY.

Mr. CARSON suggested that the trustees of the north

western co-operative company should be discharged, and that new ones should be elected.

Mr. PARE enquired whether security had been given by the Liverpool agent?

Mr. CARSON replied, that security had not been given. When a trust deed should have been executed between the society and the agent, the latter was prepared to give security.

Mr. PARE observed, that for the satisfaction of the numerous parties connected with this institution, security ought to be immediately given, and he was not aware that a trust deed was required previous to the giving of the security. He therefore moved, that the trustees be requested to obtain such security from the agent as they deem necessary.

Mr. HIRST said, that from the resolutions of the congress by which the trustees were appointed, he did not perceive distinctly whether a regular formal trust-deed was required. He thought that all those who signed their names as trustees by the preceding appointment, were responsible, as such, to society. The question was, whether the concern at Liverpool was secure in being founded on such a plan.

Mr. WAYLAND, the barrister, being in the room, was applied to, as to the necessity of a formal trust deed being executed. He thought it a matter of some doubt, and suggested that counsel's opinion should be taken upon the subject.

PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT.

Mr. PARE reported, that in conformity with the directions given him at the last sitting of congress, he had forwarded the petition then adopted to the Lord Chancellor, and D. O'Connell, Esq., for presentation to either House of Parliament. He had not, however, received any reply from either, and the petitions had not been presented.

It was therefore resolved by the congress, that the secretary do write to the Lord Chancellor and Mr. O'Connell, to ascertain the reason of their neglect.

Mr. PARE then moved the appointment of a committee to draw up a case relative to the North West of England Co-operative Company, to submit for the opinion of counsel, which, being seconded by Mr. BENBOW, was carried, and Messrs. Wayland, Carson, and Thompson, appointed as the Committee.

Messrs. Hirst, of Huddersfield, Carson, of Liverpool, Wilson, of Halifax, Gaskill, of Kendal, Johnson, of Worsley, Skevington, of Loughborough, and Duckworth, of Birkacre, were then appointed trustees for the co-operative company of Liverpool; and a resolution was adopted to the effect, that the agent of the company be required to give security.

INCIPIENT COMMUNITY.

Mr. PARE then read the resolutions (5, 7, 8) of the last congress (held at Birmingham), for the appointment of a committee to take the necessary steps towards the immediate formation of a community upon the social system; and also the report of the Committee, as follows :—

REPORT

OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE SIXTH RESOLUTION OF
THE LAST MEETING OF CONGRESS,

To take the necessary steps towards the immediate formation of a Community upon the Social System, in accordance with the Seventh and Eighth Resolutions of the Meeting of Congress, held in Manchester, in May, 1831.

Your Committee report that they held several meetings, immediately after the breaking up of Congress, at Robert Owen's Institution, Burton Street, Burton Crescent, London. P. D. Massey Dawson, Esq. was appointed Honorary Secretary, and Mr. Benjamin Warden Sub-Secretary, *pro tempore*. Messrs. Samuel Austin, Francis French, and John Dempsey, were appointed Trustees, and Messrs. Prescott, Grote and Co. of Threadneedle Street, London, Bankers. In October, the following Circular was adopted and printed, and, after some unavoidable delay, 250 copies were forwarded to as many societies in the country, and to each member of the committee not residing in London.

CIRCULAR TO THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, AND
TO SUCH INDIVIDUALS AS MAY WISH TO FURTHER THEIR
VIEWS.

At the Second Co-operative Congress held at Birmingham, October 4th and 5th, 1831, and continued by adjournment to the 6th, it was resolved,

- I. That a council be now appointed to carry out the resolution of the First Congress held at Manchester, viz. 'That a Co-operative Community be formed.'
- II. That this Congress considers it highly desirable that a Community, on the principles of 'Mutual Co-operation, United Possessions, and Equality of Exertions, and of the Means of Enjoyment,' should be established in England, as speedily as possible, in order to show the practicability of the co-operative system; and, further, it is the opinion of this Congress, that such Community may be formed by the means recently suggested by the 'First Birmingham Co-operative Society,' contained in the following resolution of that society, and published in 'Carpenter's Political Letter,' April 30, 1831.

That this society, fully sensible of the great advantages that would result from the speedy formation of an Incipient Co-operative Community, upon the plan laid down by Mr. William Thompson, will make immediate application to one hundred and ninety-nine other Co-operative Societies, in order

to obtain their concurrence to a project of electing a member of each society, and supplying him, in such a manner as they shall deem best, with the sum of 30*l.*, in order that an Incipient Community of 6000*l.* may immediately be formed in some part of England.

- III. That Subscriptions of 3*l.* deposit, on shares of 30*l.* each, for the purpose of forming a Community on the basis and plans contained in the foregoing resolution, be received from the Trading Fund Associations, or from individuals wishing to join the Community; and that, as soon as 200 shall be engaged, the Secretary shall call a meeting, where he may deem it most convenient to the majority of the Subscribers, to proceed in the formation of such Community.

Co-operative Societies, or individuals desirous for the formation of a Community, are requested to forward their deposits, as soon as possible, to the account of the Trustees, Messrs. Samuel Austin, Francis French, and John Dempsey, at Messrs. Prescott, Grote, and Co., Bankers, Threadneedle Street, London, or to either of the members of the Council residing in their neighbourhood, that it may be forwarded, without loss of time, to the Bankers in London. No part of these deposits will be used by the Council, or any other persons but the future Community itself, for any purpose whatever. All deposits shall be returned, if demanded, should the land not be purchased within one year after the 200 shares shall have been taken up. As soon as the shares are all disposed of, a meeting of the shareholders shall be called in London, or any place more convenient to a majority of the shareholders, when they shall (assisted by the Council) take all subsequent arrangements into their own hands.

N.B. Societies and individuals, after making a deposit, must send an intimation of the same to the Sub-Secretary, Mr. Benjamin Warden, at Robert Owen's Institution, Burton Street, Burton Crescent, London, post paid, with name and address, for registry by the Secretary,

(Here followed the name and address of the Secretary.)

Your Committee regret to state, that they have received replies from only two societies, namely, the "First Birmingham," who have sent to the bankers 6*l.*, as deposit for two shares, and from the Kendal Society, who have expressed their desire to subscribe for a share or shares, but who have not remitted any deposit.

Your Committee conceive that one reason why so little has been done towards the formation of the proposed Community is, that many of the societies have embarked their capital in purchasing raw materials and machinery, for the purpose of employing their members in manufactures, whilst others have been appropriating their share of capital, in the way of subscriptions, to assist in the formation of the "North-West-of-England Co-operative Company," which they have considered the best calculated, for the present, to advance their interests.

Your Committee trusts that the steps these societies have severally taken will enable them, at no distant period, to join the projected Community.

The SECRETARY also read such letters and documents as

had been received by the committee, containing offers and suggestions relative to the community.

Mr. WARDEN requested to withdraw as secretary, *pro. tem.* to the committee.—Agreed to.

Mr. THOMPSON explained the reasons why the committee had done so little in this business. Six persons, living in different parts of the kingdom, were upon the committee, the majority of them being resident in London; and it was of course expected that the latter would meet and act more efficiently than the others. Himself, however, with another or two of those resident at a distance, had come to London for the purpose of beginning practical operations; and as far as preliminary measures were concerned, they had done their duty. A circular had been drawn up, and sent round to the societies. Mr. Owen, however, who was upon that committee, proposed that they should form themselves into a committee for universal correspondence, alleging that to be the large object for which they were really appointed, and not for the mere petty or little purpose of forming a committee. For his (Mr. Owen's) part, he would not consent to have his name associated with any committee who was for making a beginning with a smaller sum than 240,000*l.* That had rather startled the committee, and Mr. Owen deliberately withdrew his name from the committee, saying, he would give them all the assistance he could, as an individual, but he would have no responsible connection with a thing not started upon a proper basis. This circumstance had paralysed the exertions of the committee; but he (Mr. T.) was always not only ready, but anxious to co-operate with the rest, whenever he saw that any thing was likely to be done. He trusted that the congress would now appoint another committee, consisting of practical men, who would be ready and determined to go forward in realising their object.

Messrs. STYLES, AUSTIN, and WARDEN, severally explained the circumstances in which the committee had been placed, for the purpose of showing, that although they had effected nothing, it had not arisen from negligence or apathy on their parts.—The report was then adopted.

Mr. BISHOP read a resolution passed by the first society at Birmingham, explanatory of their views of the importance of forming an incipient community, and enforced upon the congress the propriety and necessity of maturing and acting upon some plan for this purpose.

Mr. PARE was sure that there was a sufficient number of societies in the kingdom to realize an incipient community, if the measures necessary for the purpose were now taken. For his part, he had been disappointed that so few shares had been subscribed for, the fact being, that persons were desirous to know something about the details of the project. A full pro-

spectus, comprising all the necessary information should be drawn up and circulated, and then there would be no want of subscribers. On the previous evening, the result of a desultory conversation among a few of the delegates had been a subscription of twelve pounds.

Mr. LOVETT concurred with Mr. Pare, and felt assured that if ever the world was to realise the happy state of society promised by Mr. Owen, it must be through the medium of such incipient communities as they were now contemplating. Living, as they now did, in the midst of difficulties and distresses, weighed down by anxiety for the subsistence of themselves and their children, they were not only prevented from acquiring the requisite knowledge for a perfect state of community, but the requisite dispositions also. He urged upon the congress to prepare and adopt some plan of proceeding before they left this subject.

The Rev. Mr. MARRIOTT was also desirous to see an incipient community formed, and if it were necessary he would give up his profession, and with his family enter such a society.

Mr. NASH, of Sheffield, doubted whether the co-operators were yet sufficiently informed to realise a community, and also whether they could compete with capitalists in the market.

Mr. OWEN next addressed the congress. He said he had heard much about the necessity of forming a community, but he had heard nothing proposed that was likely to be successful. It would be necessary first to understand the principles on which the community was to be formed. If it were intended that the members should subsist upon the produce of their own labour, independent of all transactions with the external world, the arrangements must be very different to what they would be, did they intend to come into competition with it. The former plan was the one to which he thought the congress should look; and if so, they had a most important object before them. They would find, in this case, that no small community could succeed; and he was of opinion, indeed, that a small community would not do, even if it were intended to compete with the external world. In fact, he was fully satisfied that a large community might be formed with more ease, and in a shorter time, than a small one; besides which, the one would give satisfaction to the members and the public, while the other would disappoint all, and throw back most materially the progress of the cause. It was in consequence of repudiating his opinions, that the Orbiston Society failed. That society was not the tenth part of a community; it was not formed upon community principles, but in direct opposition to them, and that from the beginning to the end. It had been said that the community at New Lanark and the community at New Harmony had failed; but nothing could be more ridiculous, for there had been nothing like a community in

either place. He had found the people to be in a state not to act in community; they were not competent to govern themselves. The moment they began to act, he found they could not do so much in a year, as he and those who acted with him could do in a day: their whole time was spent in talking. After all, however, he was glad to see the anxiety on this subject; he was glad to see so many persons at length convinced that there were no means of mending the old state of society. Had there been the same anxiety manifested in 1817, when he (Mr. O.) came forward, the world would by this time have been a perfect paradise. If they were now ready for this, however, he had no doubt that their object might be realised. A friend had offered 420 acres of good land, within seventeen miles of London, at 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* an acre, tithe-free; and it was of great importance that land for a community should be tithe-free. This land—which adjoined 1100 acres belonging to a gentleman who would, he had no doubt, do what he could to serve them—might be had upon lease for twenty-one years, with liberty to extend the term to any period they chose, or to purchase it for ever. Its situation, too, was admirably adapted for their purpose; for their first community should be within a circle of thirty miles from London—not nearer than twelve miles, nor farther than thirty. Then, also, he had no doubt, if they were sufficiently advanced for this, that they might find men of capital and builders, who would assist them with what they might want, upon such security as they would have it in their power to offer. To succeed as a community, however, their arrangements must combine a due proportion of capital and labour to produce the various kinds of wealth the inhabitants would require, both for their own use, and for the purpose of exchanging for such articles as they could not themselves produce. It must also comprise a proper combination for distributing their productions beneficially for each individual, and also for training and forming the character of each individual in the most beneficial and economical manner. It must also comprise arrangements which would give them the most simple, cheap, and efficient government. All this was capable of being effected in a rightly constituted community. Every person present, probably, had his own views of a community; but he believed them all to differ most materially from his views; and he further believed that none of their plans, when attempted, would succeed. It was on that account that he withdrew his name from the committee that had been appointed at the last congress, for he would not give the sanction of his name to what he believed would be a failure. But let no man suppose that he was indifferent upon this subject; he could not be indifferent. No man could feel more deeply interested in it than he did: and no man would sacrifice more.

than he would to see a community realised. All he wanted was, that those who were now so desirous to effect this object should see the difficulties as well as the advantages of the undertaking. Mr. Owen concluded his remarks by observing, that he was satisfied that our own government, as well as all the governments of Europe, was fully satisfied of the truth and value of his principles, and was extremely desirous to adopt them. At present they could not do so, for the people were not prepared for the change. They only waited for the public opinion to be formed and matured, to effect those happy changes which co-operation was adapted to realise.

Mr. LOVETT rose, and said that himself, Mr. PARE, and Mr. STYLES had taken an opportunity to retire for a few moments to draw up a resolution upon this subject, which he would now submit for adoption. It was to the following effect:—

“Resolved, that this Congress, deeply impressed with the growing evils of the present competitive system, and anxious that arrangements should be made to place the industrious classes beyond its devastating and irritating influence, are determined to renew and redouble their exertions to establish, as speedily as possible, a community upon the principles of mutual co-operation, united possessions, and equality of exertions, and of the means of enjoyments.”

In supporting the resolution, Mr. Lovett replied to some of Mr. Owen's arguments against the kind of incipient community they now proposed, and forcibly urged upon the congress the necessity of doing something for themselves and the working class, generally, without waiting for the government to take them by the hand.

Mr. PARE seconded the resolution, and expressed his opinion that Mr. Owen had not only too highly estimated the contingent results of his own proceedings in opening the purses of the affluent, but that he had also too meanly estimated the capabilities and powers of the labouring classes.

Mr. FINCH, Mr. MANDLEY, the Rev. Mr. DUNN and Mr. STYLES, severally supported the resolution; as did Mr. SIMPSON also. This delegate, in the course of his remarks, defended the inhabitants of Orbiston community, and attributed its failure to the mismanagement of the monied proprietors, who had an interest in direct opposition to that of the working members.

Mr. WIGG corroborated the statement of Mr. Simpson relative to the Orbiston community, and supported the motion before the chair, as did also Messrs. Beatson and Caldwell.

Mr. FLATHER contended that the co-operators were not yet fit for community; there was neither enough knowledge nor enough good feeling amongst them for such a state.

Mr. WARDEN combatted the statements of his colleague, Mr. Flather ; but even if he admitted them to be true, he could not see that they furnished any argument against a community. Was it likely, he asked, that they could become much wiser or better while they remained in the present wretched state of society? He denied that they could, and therefore he was for an attempt to form an incipient and experimental community.

Mr. OWEN then addressed the congress. What wisdom (he would ask) would there be in taking a savage from the wilds of America, who could not tell the difference that existed between the numbers 5 and 10 ; and placing him in Cambridge University to teach the professors mathematics? None!—Practicable methods must be tried. For forty years had he been labouring to try the effects of a community. He purchased Lanark of its proprietors, for the purpose of establishing his system, but he knew that he would not make any great progress, except he returned a profit for the capital embarked in the establishment. He carried on his arrangements there for 14 or 15 years, and during the last five years he was enabled to pay six per cent. interest for the capital. When he first took the establishment, the population was idle, dissolute, inefficient, and immoral in the highest degree. The first effect of his system, was to produce a complete change in their character, and he left them a most moral and industrious body. The next object obtained, was that the children were educated at 3s. per year, and got as good instruction as they would for 300l. in London. The next good object attained was that the children were not overworked, they were not put to labour until they arrived at the age of ten years, and then the labour was proportioned to their strength. During twenty-nine years, there was not a single instance where it was necessary to apply to a magistrate. He himself was a magistrate, but never acted in his capacity,—the punishments were pecuniary fines, and went towards the establishment of a sick fund. He was told at first, that his plan was visionary ; but the reason was, because it was not understood. Extensive combination was in no way new to him. He had never ceased to labour to discover the shortest time it would take to form a successful community, and he looked forward to the great good that would result from meeting congress. The meeting had mentioned that £6,000 ought to be advanced towards Mr. Thompson's plan. Now, he (Mr. Owen) had the greatest possible esteem for Mr. Thompson, but he begged leave to assure him that he knew little of this matter. 6,000l., 20,000l., or even 60,000l., would be of little avail ; but if they were united as *one man*, and fully determined to prosecute their plan, many a man on the stock exchange would be willing to advance capital. There were many money-holders favourable to co-

operation, when they found it just in a practical point of view—men of good genuine principles; and some had said, that if an intelligible and satisfactory statement were put before them, they would advance capital to almost any amount, at four per cent. Mr. Owen then proceeded to make some observations on the excellent security a community could offer—a security of land—of buildings about to be erected, of a superior kind—and of the daily industry of the people, who by their exertions would enhance the value of the property. He was glad to see the meeting so impatient to proceed, and he advised them strongly to lose no time in making proposals to monied men to advance capital at four per cent, on the security he mentioned.

The meeting then adjourned until seven o'clock.

Mr. WATKINS having been called to the Chair, the Congress resumed its sitting at the hour just mentioned.

Mr. CARSON rose and said, that many persons in Lancashire had serious intentions of forming a community. The Worsley co-operatives were also eager to form one, having found that they might get a vast quantity of uncultivated land at 1*l.* per acre. Near Liverpool, he also thought they could find means to get 1,000 acres, and the only thing wanting to make it valuable, was labour. One man ought to be sent from every co-operative society. They would support and erect a cottage for him; but pay no wages. If such a plan were adopted, in a few years it would be made a valuable estate. After reading the works of Messrs. Owen and Thompson, the people were anxious to commence a community.

Mr. HIRST said, no subject delighted him more than the present, and nothing should be wanting on his part towards attaining such a desirable object. It appeared to him, that all things were working for their good. He earnestly beseeched them, however, not to allow themselves to be carried away by wrong calculations; they should not attempt a community without a certainty of success.

The Rev. Mr. DUNN felt great pleasure in perfectly coinciding with Mr. Owen's sentiments.

Mr. PERRIE said he stood on principle; he was a true disciple of Mr. Owen's, and had a wife who would follow him into community. Though a humble mechanic, he had applied himself diligently to the study of co-operation.

Mr. THOMPSON said, they imagined two-kinds of communities; one of which would be a state of bliss, the other a kind of superior workhouse or workshops for the poor. The fabric should be erected at once, which imagination conceives to be the most perfect, if they had the means. If, however, he could get a sufficient capital, and 2,000 individuals together, he would not despair but that in a short period he would show

to the world, an institution that might even please Mr. Owen ; he thought the security Mr. Owen offered would not be satisfactory enough to the money holders.

Mr. OWEN said, one of the capitalists told him within a short period, that he had not sufficiently understood his system ; but that now, finding it excellent, he was willing to aid it.

Mr. THOMPSON said, if we cannot get up a first-rate community at once, let us begin on a small scale ; if we wish to ameliorate the condition of the poor, we should be content with a community such as he described. He then alluded to the Dutch communities, which were on such a bad sandy soil, but, in a few years, became a most excellent and bountiful one, by unceasing labour and tillage. Their object was, to put a stop to beggary ; and if we could not accomplish what they did, we must be stupid indeed. As to the consideration whether or not we should proceed to operations without the assistance of great wealth, he would say that it could well be dispensed with, as Mr. Vandeleur's establishment in Clare clearly demonstrated ; and where they were employing many Irish labourers who had only 5*l.* per year to support themselves and families, and to purchase clothes, &c. &c. There was one wise part of Mr. Vandeleur's system. It was extremely difficult to get ignorant people to work, when they considered that they had not some individual motive for it ; committees, therefore, regulated every evening the work for the ensuing day, for every man, woman, child, and beast ; there were, therefore, no idlers among them, and each worked with cheerfulness. They soon found out the secret, that if one or two stopped working, the whole produce would soon be lessened ; and the force of *public opinion*, caused each person to exert himself the more.

Mr. OWEN said, to ensure success, a complete unity must pervade the whole—committees and majorities would never answer ; there would be too much confusion. He had found by thirty years' experience, that people could not act for themselves in a community. There must be some conducting head. He went to America to try the experiment, and would have no objection to try any experiment.

Mr. LOVERT did not like that one man should have the absolute government of many useful and practical men. It savoured, he thought, of despotism. Committees of arrangement were of great use ; though a little time might be lost, valuable information might be gained. The meeting had wandered from the question, which was, whether they should commence an incipient community.—Mr. Owen was against going into a community without very large funds. Now, why wait for others to do that which they could do for themselves ? He thought working men ought to come forward, and commence operations at once.

Mr. OWEN said, no one was more opposed to despotism

than he was ; but such a combination as they had in view, could only be effected by the direction of one mind. He would put an end to despotism, and would give to every child, when it was born, his full share in the government of the world. He would wish perfect equality. He acknowledged no man as above him, and no man was beneath him.

Mr. THOMPSON asked Mr. Owen if he had taken care to give to the world, after his own death, the valuable knowledge he possessed.

Mr. OWEN replied, that it had always been present to his mind, and that he had taken all the steps that occurred to him to render *his own life* of as little importance as possible. He had written his opinions, and had constructed models ; but it was impossible he could convey in books or models the whole of the experience he had, or the spirit of the interesting conversations he had held with Monroe, Jefferson, and other great minds, who had ceased to exist in this world. He believed, however, that the aristocracy were better acquainted with the system than his friends were aware of, and that they were only waiting for the people to be prepared for it, in order to join them. He intended, as soon as funds admitted of it, to have a large model erected which practical men could work from. Mr. Owen concluded the discussion by saying, that now was the time for every man to exhibit his moral courage, and that if they were determined, and would follow up the plan of co-operation, this pandemonium of existing society would soon be changed to a state of happiness—to a terrestrial paradise. Let them adhere to the *truth* and they had nothing to fear ; the victory was won. (Cheering.) He did not care if all men deserted him ; he would be of the same opinion still, for he knew they would all come back to him.

Mr. LOVETT's resolution was then put and carried, as were also the following :—

“That every delegate and visitor to the Congress here present, and so disposed, do now sign his name to a paper prepared for that purpose, whether on his act, or for the society he represents as a subscriber to the proposed community, and pay at least one pound deposit.

“That Messrs. Thompson, Pare, and Wigg, be appointed to draw up a prospectus for a community.”

The meeting then adjourned till seven o'clock on the following morning.

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Friday morning, 7 o'clock.

The discussion on the Incipient Community was resumed.

Mr. LOVETT said, he hoped that when the plan was matured, and carried into effect, the members of the community would be chosen from among co-operative and working persons, and that no one would be allowed to buy five or six shares, and put in who he liked.

Mr. THOMPSON moved, that as soon as 100 names were subscribed, individuals be appointed to take at least 400 acres of land, on lease for ever, or with liberty of purchase; and that they be responsible, as trustees, for this purpose.

Messrs. Thompson, Hamilton, Hoskins, and Bremley, were then appointed as fit persons to determine on the choice and purchase of lands.

Mr. PARE said, he hoped it would be remembered, that when individuals subscribed, the subscription included only themselves, and not their wives, should they be married.

Mr. STYLES then moved that a committee be formed, consisting of the following persons, in London, whose duty it shall be to make the necessary arrangements to convene a meeting of subscribers so soon as 100 names shall be on the list, and to render any assistance and facility in correspondence, &c. to the gentlemen appointed to purchase the land.—Names, Messrs. Lovett, Simpson, Wigg, Tucker, Warden and Styles.

LABOUR BANK EXCHANGE.

The report of the committee appointed to revise the address to the co-operators upon this subject was next brought up, and read as follows:—

ADDRESS OF THE CO-OPERATIVE DELEGATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, TO THE INDUSTRIOUS CLASSES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND MORE ESPECIALLY TO THEIR CO-OPERATIVE BRETHREN.

IN addressing our Co-operative brethren, as well as those of the *Competitive* world, it will be needless to refer to the distress and misery that exist amongst the productive classes in general, as too many of them unfortunately *feel* more acutely *than we can describe*, the severe effects of this wretchedness; nor will it, we presume, be advisable in the compass we purpose devoting to this address, to point out to them *all the causes* that have conspired to occasion it. Suffice it to say, that we are of opinion that the spirit of rivalry or competition that every where pervades society, combined with machinery and our new powers of production, have been mainly instrumental in bringing things to their present crisis. Those powers which the most ignorant and unlettered will easily perceive tend to abridge human labour, and consequently *ought to be a blessing*, are owing to an individual and competitive state of society, *the greatest curses that can befall mankind*. Although gentlemen of fixed salaries or moulded incomes, who benefit by the cheap productions of machinery, have endeavoured by every sophistical argument to prove its blessings and utility, yet you, friends, whose wages have been reduced in proportion to this cheapness, or whose labour has been superseded by its invention, can fairly estimate the motives and intentions of those who thus write, or those who now address you. We do not call upon you to conspire for

the destruction or the abolition of machines, as such conduct is highly to be condemned, as exhibiting the most savage barbarism or incredulity ; but we call upon you to unite, to *Co-operate*, for the purpose of possessing so valuable a power in your own circle, and thus render it the greatest of blessings. To effect so desirable an object, you should cast aside your petty jealousies and selfish feelings, and with singleness of purpose and firmness of heart, resolve to combat and remove every difficulty that may seem to obstruct your path. Look around and you may learn an important lesson ; you may see those who profit by your dissensions, or who riot in excess on the fruits of your industry, cordially united to perpetuate the system of injustice if possible. Place no vain hopes in believing that those who live by injustice will interest themselves in justice to you. They may be ignorant, and possibly unconscious of the tendency of their own actions. Make every exertion, however, to better your *own* condition, to inform your minds, instruct your families ; and without solicitation receive with gratitude the generous assistance proffered you ; do this and your emancipation is at hand. It may be asked how can we best effect this object, seeing we are poor, ignorant, and necessitous ? We answer by peaceably uniting, by co-operating, after the plan adopted by the *Co-operative Societies*, hundreds of which are now established in most parts of the united kingdom. Their mode of commencement has been to subscribe their three pences and sixpences weekly, for the purpose of raising a general fund, with which sum they have begun trading or dealing in such articles of food and clothing as they and their families consumed. They have, as their little capital increased, began by employing some of their members in manufacturing such articles as are most in request amongst their co-operative brethren, or in the general market. They have succeeded in several societies to an extent beyond their most sanguine expectations. It has given great satisfaction to the members of this congress to witness the beautiful specimens of woollens, linens, hats, shoes, stockings, and hardware, of almost every description that has been exhibited. Several societies have made still greater progress, and have taken lands and tenements, on which they have commenced employing their members in agriculture and manufactures, and thus are in a fair way to obtain what forms the ultimate object of most all co-operators, viz., *community*. Of the various societies which have been reported at the congress, those of Birkacre in Lancashire, and Rahahine in Ireland, seem the farthest in advance. The former is composed principally of silk and cotton printers, to the amount of 3,000 members. They have lately taken an estate of 120 acres, with the mansion of a cotton lord thereon, and are now employing 300 of their members. The latter was established by M. Vandelour, late sheriff of the county of Clare, on 600 acres of land. He has set about seventy-five families at work on the co-operative system. It will afford great pleasure we are certain to all those who interest themselves in the cause of humanity, to learn that no ardent spirits are allowed in the establishment, by the consent of all parties ; and that for the last twelve months not one case of drunkenness, dissipation, or disposition to quarrel, has been exhibited ; and that those who entered the society without shoes or stockings, and ragged beyond description, may be now seen comfortably clad, and at the close of the day listening

with profound attention to lectures on ethics, chymistry, &c., and those, too, delivered by members of the establishment. For the information of many who may not yet know what we mean by a *community*, it may be necessary to state, that we, the members of those trading and manufacturing societies, purpose, at no distant day, we hope by our own exertions to rent or purchase a piece of land proportionate to our numbers; and instead of being as now confined in the dirty streets and alleys of large towns and cities, or exposed to the inconveniences of an isolated life in the country, we purpose locating thereon and having every useful trade among us, build our own houses on very improved principles, make our own clothing, raise our own food, educate our own children, equally producing and possessing equal means of enjoying, all the comforts and luxuries of life; and as machinery will save manual labour, the more we can introduce the better. Thus by our united exertions, we shall enjoy ten-fold the comforts and luxuries of life which are now enjoyed by those amongst us who are considered favourably circumstanced, free also from those cares and anxieties that now perplex and distract us. We further believing, that most of the evil passions that torment mankind, have been engendered by opposing interests, consequently conceive the best remedy will be, united interests and enjoyments.

This desirable object of a community we cannot, however, hope to realize without great exertion, and unwearied attention on our part; but as the scenes of misery behind us, afford us no hope, the prospect before us should stimulate us to push forward with redoubled ardour. In the Co-operative Trading Associations which are already established, there are immediate benefits worthy the attention of the public, and renewed exertions on the part of the members. One great point gained in effecting any considerable change in public opinion is union, another knowledge—these are already conferred by those societies; they have in general their libraries and reading-rooms; they have also considerably benefited their members by affording them employment through the medium of labour exchange notes. As the operation of this new and interesting system has been successful in London and America, and may afford some gratification to the public in general, we insert the following rules and regulations of one of the London societies.

1st. That some part of the premises be appropriated for the reception of such articles or stores as any of the members or others may be willing to deposit for exchange, being first approved of by a committee of management appointed by the members for any limited period.

2nd. That the committee have power to examine, value, and receive such stores in exchange for notes, and to carry into effect such other objects, and follow such directions as may be given them from time to time, by a general meeting of the members.

3rd. That the committee shall meet twice a week, for the valuation of goods and for the issuing of the notes.

4th. That the Exchange, or Society's Room, shall be open for the inspection of members and the public.

5th. That an Exchanger, or Store-keeper, shall be appointed by the members, and give security for his trust.

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6th. That every depositor shall state in writing the cost price of the material used, and time consumed in the manufacture; and shall be bound by the decision of the committee to the value of such article, &c.

7th. That for every article deposited in the Exchange a receipt shall be given to the Exchange-keeper, stating the nature and number of the articles deposited; and that such articles shall be laid before the committee for their inspection and valuation, and if approved by them they shall direct that notes be given to the depositor representing their value.

8th. That proper books be provided, to keep the accounts in, and also for all members out of employ and wishing for work to insert their names, residences, and business, who shall be employed in rotation, unless the persons requiring work done give a preference to any other member.

9th. That any member sent to do work shall take with him a note of the following form:

The bearer, No. is appointed by the society to work for you, at per hour.

To

N. B. Please to state the number of hours the bearer was at work for you.—No payment is to be made but by the society.

And when the work is finished he shall deliver the same to the Exchange-keeper, who shall give him a receipt for such notes; and if the committee is satisfied that the work has been done in a workmanlike manner, they shall issue an Exchange or labour note representing its value.

10th. That all members so employed shall be paid in Exchange or labour notes, and all persons employing them shall pay the society in cash or notes.

11th. That every depositor or workman shall give the aforesaid receipt to the Exchange-keeper, upon receiving his labour-note.

12th. That all notes issued by the society shall contain the number of the member (if issued to the public the name of the person), to whom issued, the number and valuation of the article for which it is issued, and the number of the note in the Exchange issue-book, and if circulated they shall be especially indorsed by the holder or circulator, and received by the Exchange-keeper in exchange for all or any of the stores in the Exchange (according to value) on being receipted by the payer.

13th. That one halfpenny in the shilling shall be paid by all members receiving Exchange notes for deposits of goods or labour done, towards paying the expenses.

14th. That the Public and Co-operative Societies, and all others not being members of the Society, be invited to send their property for sale or exchange, at a price to be affixed by them in conjunction with the committee, they paying a commission of one halfpenny in the shilling upon receiving Exchange notes for any goods sold or exchanged.

15th. To prevent the forgery of the note, and fraud upon the stores, the committee shall have power to make peculiar arrangements, and adopt private criterions, for detecting them.

16th. That all notes issued by the committee shall be in the name

of the Society and its Trustees, and shall be received from the bearer by the Exchange-keeper, for any stores in his possession. *

Thus, by this simple operation, the shoemaker who was out of employment, and needed the coat of the tailor, who also needed a customer and was wanting shoes, have supplied each other; and other trades in a similar manner. If the society has the capital, it will of course employ the members, and pay them in labour-notes. If it cannot afford to employ many trades, many members may possess capital themselves, and by this exchange will be able to dispose of such articles they may manufacture, when, without this arrangement, their capital and themselves might be idle. If the societies in a neighbourhood unite and have one exchange depot between them, they may save expense, and enlarge their circle of commodities. If they unite in counties or districts, and let their notes be exchangeable from one society to others, they will still further extend their operations, by embracing more articles in their circle of exchanges. Our benevolent friend, Mr. Owen, in conjunction with his council, is making arrangements for opening extensive apartments in his institution Grays' Inn-road, for the purpose of facilitating exchanges, by means of labour notes, between all the societies in the united kingdom; and before the next Congress we trust we shall have the gratifying news of the establishment of labour banks, and of the circulation of labour notes, from John o'Groats to the Land's-end.

We trust we have said sufficient to cause our Co-operative brethren to renew their exertions in the good cause; also to induce the members of trade and benefit societies to enquire whether they cannot apply their immense funds to more beneficial purposes than in investing them in savings banks, &c. In fact, we hope all who feel the effects of the present system, as well as those who feel for its victims, will interest themselves, and assist by every means in

*FORM OF A LABOUR-NOTE.

London,

59, Poland Street.

First Western Union Exchange Bank.

Note.

for Stores.

No. 387

No. 878

1832, May 1

Deliver Exchange Stores to Members No. 29, or Order on demand to the amount of

shillings

pence.

s.

d.

"

,

By order of the Trustees,

W. HASKINS.

J. WINNING.

F. R.

N. B. The counterpart on the left hand side of the scale.

K 2

their power those who show such a laudable disposition to help themselves.

After some discussion, the report was unanimously adopted.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.

Mr. OWEN then rose and said, many gentlemen had entertained an erroneous idea relative to his system, namely, that no person could be admitted into a co-operative community without subscribing to all his principles. This error might be removed by adopting the following resolution—

“Whereas the co-operative world contains persons of every religious sect, and of every political party, it is resolved, that co-operators, *as such*, jointly and severally, are not pledged to any political, religious, or irreligious tenets whatever; neither those of Mr. Owen nor of any other individual.”

Dr. WADE seconded the motion.

Mr. WIGG asked Mr. Owen if he had not recanted some of his opinions?

Mr. OWEN said he never had occasion to recant any one of his principles; his system embraced the whole human race, and excluded no party whatever. It broke down all the petty divisions that served to divide man from man, nor had he the slightest ill-feeling towards any man, however he might differ from him in opinion.

Mr. THOMPSON corroborated Mr. Owen's statement, and his opinion went hand in hand with him. It was not necessary to adopt all Mr. Owen's tenets, in order to co-operate with him.

Rev. Mr. MARRIOTT said he had been requested to come forward to make some observations on the important subject before them. It was indeed a subject of very great importance. Whatever views a Radical Reformer might entertain relative to the benefiting of society, it was morally impossible he could ameliorate the condition of mankind so far as the Co-operator, who acted upon a system that embraced the whole human race; a system that acknowledged all men to be the creatures of circumstances, and forgave the failings of every one, from the king to the poorest peasant (great cheering).

Rev. Mr. DUNN said religion should never be the bone of contention. For his part, he considered the philanthropic sceptic far better than the hypocritical orthodox believer. His religion said that those *prayed best* who loved all men (cheers).

Mr. HIRST said that, for his part, he could not see what theological opinions had to do with the social system at all.

Mr. OWEN considered that the time had arrived when they should bow to no other authority but that of truth. With permission of the Congress he would read a portion of the creed and duties of the religion of his system; to which he expected

not one in that Congress could object. Mr. Owen then read the following

ARTICLES.

"1. That all facts yet known to man indicate, that there is an external or internal cause of all existences by the fact of their existence; that this All-pervading cause of motion and change in the universe, is the Power which the nations of the world have called God, Jehovah, Lord, &c. &c.; but that the facts are yet unknown to man, which define what that power is.

"2. That all ceremonial worship by man of this cause, whose qualities are yet so little known, proceeds from ignorance of his own nature, and can be of no real utility in practice; and that it is impossible to train men to become rational in their feelings, thoughts, or actions, until all such forms shall cease."

This, said Mr. Owen, *is my individual opinion.* He then proceeded:—

"3. That it is man's highest duty to himself and his fellow-men, to acquire an accurate knowledge of those circumstances which produce evil to the human race, and of those which produce good, to exert all his powers to remove the former from society, and to create around it the latter only.

"4. That this invaluable practical knowledge can be acquired solely through an extensive search after truth, by an accurate, patient, and unprejudiced enquiry into facts, as developed by Nature.

"5. That man can never attain to a state of superior and permanent happiness, until he shall be surrounded by those external circumstances which will retain him, from birth, to feel pure charity and sincere affection towards the whole of his species; to speak the truth only on all occasions, and to regard with a merciful disposition all that has life.

"6. That such superior principles and feelings can never be given to man under those Institutions of Society, which have been founded on the mistaken supposition, that man forms his feelings and convictions by his will, and is therefore responsible for them.

"7. That under Institutions, formed in accordance with the rational System of Society, these superior principles and dispositions may be given to the whole of the human race, without chance of failure, except in case of organic disease, and influenced only by the natural consequences of our actions."

Mr. OWEN next proceeded to read to the Congress the four following clauses, from his universal code of laws, on the Liberty of Man:—

"1. All shall have equal and full liberty to express the dictates of their conscience.

"2. No one shall have any other power than fair argument, to control the opinions or belief of another.

"3. No praise or blame, no merit or demerit, no reward or punishment, shall be awarded for any faith whatever.

"4. All shall have equal right to express their opinion respecting a First Cause; and to worship it under any form or in any manner

agreeable to their consciences, not interfering with equal rights in others."

Upon this, observed Mr. OWEN, I will briefly remark, that the cause of all the miseries at this moment arises from the various and conflicting religious forms of worship now in vogue. Who can ask for more than that all should have equal right to express their opinion respecting a first cause, and to worship it under that form which is most agreeable to their consciences? Who could ask for more than this if he were an intelligent being? No individual could enjoy the full extent of happiness so long as he might be compelled to maintain sentiments in opposition to facts. To him (Mr. Owen) it would make no difference whether his friends were Jews, Mahometans, Infidels, Hindoos, or belonging to any other sect. He was the last man who would attempt to fetter any man's opinion; for he thought every man ought to be allowed to think for himself, especially upon matters of such weighty importance.

A good deal of desultory conversation ensued, but the resolution was ultimately carried *nem. con.*, and was voted to be the standing motto upon such publications as the Congress might issue.

REGULATIONS FOR CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

The Rev. Mr. DUNN brought up the report of the committee appointed to draw up the rules and regulations for co-operative societies. It was as follows:—

The congress of delegates from the co-operative societies of Great Britain and Ireland, particularly recommend to all present and future co-operative societies the adoption of the following fundamental rules and regulations as the only constitutional basis upon which their societies can be permanently and successfully established:—

1. Let it be universally understood, that the grand ultimate object of all co-operative societies, whether engaged in trading, manufacturing, or agricultural pursuits, is *community on land*.
2. To effect this important purpose, a weekly subscription, either in money, goods, or labour, from a penny to any other amount agreed upon, is indispensably necessary to be continued from year to year, until a capital sufficient to accomplish the object of the society be accumulated.
3. The next preliminary step to be pursued as auxiliary to the former, will be for the society to purchase at wholesale price, articles of ordinary consumption, of the most genuine description, in order to be retailed at the market prices, for the purpose of further accumulation. The adoption of these instructions will, of course, be regulated by the circumstances and inclinations of particular societies.
4. We would observe that the immediate benefit derivable from

these societies, in their successful approximation to community, are, the mutual employment of members, the establishment of schools for the education of children, and of libraries and reading-rooms for adults.

5. In order to ensure without any possibility of failure the successful consummation of these desirable objects, it is the unanimous decision of the delegates here assembled, that the capital accumulated by such associations should be rendered indivisible, and any trading societies formed for the accumulation of profits, with the view to the merely making a dividend thereof at some future period, cannot be recognized by this congress as identified with the corporative world, nor admitted into that great social family which is now rapidly advancing to a state of independent and equalized community.
6. It is deemed more especially essential in all the trading transactions of co-operative societies, that credit shall be neither taken nor given; as a deviation from this important principle, has been the sole cause of the destruction of so many previous societies, and thus banefully operated to retard the general progress of co-operation. In order to carry this important measure into successful operation, the congress recommend that in case of want of employment among the members, means should be taken by the society, if possible, to provide them some employment, as local circumstances may admit. In cases of sickness, should there be no other sources of relief, pecuniary assistance may be given either from the funds belonging to the society, or from individual subscription amongst the members.
7. The congress is of opinion that it is extremely inimical to the principles of co-operation, and productive of the most injurious consequences, to permit an individual who is already a member of one society to become a member of another."

This report was unanimously adopted.

EXPENCES OF DELEGATES.

Mr. WARDEN suggested that the burthen of the expenses entailed upon societies by the attendance at Congress, should be equalised among the different societies; and moved for a committee to calculate the amount of funds possessed by each society on the list, and to report thereon, in order that the expenses might be equalised.—Passed unanimously; after which the Congress adjourned till the following morning.

THE SOCIAL FESTIVAL.

On the evening of this day, the Congress gave a social festival to their friends, upon which occasion the whole suite of apartments in the building of the Institution was thrown open, and filled by a gay and happy assemblage of both sexes. About eight o'clock Mr. Owen entered the large room, and was hailed with the cheers of the immense assembly, and with the soul-stirring air, "See, the conquering hero comes," which

was admirably performed, on the organ, by Mr. Stephens. As soon as this burst of enthusiasm, and the air of "Welcome" had ceased, Mr. Owen exhibited a model of the building, which he proposes to erect for the new society he is calling into existence, and explained its principles in a most pleasing and satisfactory manner.

The following is the substance of his address:—The period has arrived when the ignorance and error of men have been so far removed as to permit them, for the first time in their known history, to listen to truths, founded on facts, evident to all who can accurately observe and compare them, on a knowledge of which their permanent improvement and happiness solely depend. All are now compelled to admit that the existing state of society over the civilized world is deplorable in the extreme; and yet that the materials requisite to ensure a high degree of prosperity and happiness to every part of it are scattered about in all directions in the utmost profusion, and which, if rightly used, might be applied to remedy the cause of all just complaint from the inhabitants of every country. It is therefore full time, seeing that all are conscious of the folly and evil of the existing system of society, that a system so wretched should be made to terminate in the shortest possible period. But, it may be properly asked, Shall we destroy the existing system before we build up another? Or shall we use the present system lawfully and beneficially, not only to assist in effecting the change, but also to save the population of all countries from war and violence during the whole of its progress? I do not hesitate to make a reply to this most important question, as it is one of the most serious moment. It would be most injurious to pull down an old house occupied by many inhabitants before a new and a better had been provided in its stead; so it would be equally unwise in the present generation to destroy the existing system of society, before they had discovered one superior to it in every respect, and had shown all the practical measures by which, without inconvenience, it may be made to supersede it. I propose to-night to explain those practical measures by which this glorious change may be now effected without violence; nay, I believe, without opposition from any intelligent, well-disposed individual of any rank in any country; for as soon as the means can be devised to enable them fully to comprehend the subject, and thereby learn the incalculable benefits which the human race must secure to themselves by the change, one and all would be most eager to have the new system adopted in practice without any unnecessary delay. I proceed, therefore, to explain to the assembly, and more especially to the members of Congress, the great change now contemplated in the affairs of the human race. All societies of men, from the time they first congregated until now, consisted, and they ever must consist, of the same simple elements and divisions; there

is no difference in these divisions between the savage and most civilized nation. In each there must be arrangements to produce or procure what the tribe or nation requires to live upon, use, and enjoy. Also other arrangements to distribute the wealth so produced or procured. There must be also some arrangements to form the character of the individuals composing the tribe or nation. It is also a general principle that man is, to a very great degree, the creature of the circumstances in which he lives. Now it is evident that, in proportion as these four great divisions of human society are separately well or ill organized and wisely or ignorantly united, that the circumstances of the individuals, whether savage or civilized, will be favourable or unfavourable. What does the past history of the world declare upon this subject? That there never has been any tribe or nation among whom any one of these departments has been understood, or in which they have been advantageously united. In many of the savage tribes, when they were first discovered by Europeans, these departments were more beneficially carried on and united for the well-being of the tribe than they are now in Great Britain, the most civilized of nations, for the happiness of the people. Suffice it to say at present, that these four departments are now totally unknown in the British empire, both by the government and people, except as random measures, pursued without any knowledge of the science on which society is formed, and that the practice of each department is a chaos of confusion and folly, alike destructive of the best feelings and intellects of human nature, as of the prosperity and happiness of the mass of the people. Without intention on the part of the government, it is scarcely possible to conceive that a nation, possessing such extraordinary resources for the creation of wealth and the improvement of the people, could have applied these invaluable powers to produce such wretched results; yet it is evident that the government does not intend to inflict misery on the people, if it knew how to avoid such misery. The government is to be pitied; it does not know how to make any better use of the enormous powers at its controul. False incongruous theories have led the government and legislature through mazes of error that have now confounded their understandings until their faculties are bewildered. The model now before you is intended to assist in the removal of these errors, and the innumerable and severe miseries which they inflict on the whole population. It is a model of a new machine, to enable men to perform, in a very superior manner, all the business of human society. It is a model of an entirely new combination of circumstances for forming the character of, providing for, and governing men, to ensure permanently their prosperity and happiness. It is founded on a knowledge of the science of man—of society, and of the influence of external cir-

cumstances over man. It is formed to comprise within it the due proportion of the departments of production of wealth, of the distribution of wealth, of the formation of individual and general character, and of police or government. And it is capable also of accomplishing all these objects much better than they have ever yet been accomplished, with less than a hundredth part of the labour and capital now employed to carry on the present wretched state of human misery, in which there are anomalies of folly of every description, so much so, that in no one department of human life is there a particle of real wisdom to be found. The department of production, consisting of agriculture, manufactures, and trades, will be in proportion to the wants of the human race. The department of distribution will be to apportion the wealth produced with the least labour most beneficially for all. The department of forming individual and national character will, at a trifling expense, insure the formation of a very superior race of beings, placed in the midst of the most advantageous circumstances to promote their daily improvement. And the department for governing will be so extremely simplified, that all, and each one of the population, will be, at the proper period of their life, equal to understand the whole system of governing, and be fully competent to take their due share of it. The domestic arrangements of this system are equally novel with every part of it, and are founded on a knowledge of human nature, an acquaintance with modern inventions, improvements, and discoveries. They are devised to insure the highest improvement of the children, and the greatest happiness of the adults. And these are all made to harmonize together in such a manner as to promote the happiness of every individual without any exception. It is true that there will be an equality, but the condition of men will be then higher than any yet known or imagined. There would be no end to the explanation and description of these details. This must be effected in courses of lectures, which will admit the due amplification of such particulars. The essential difference between the two systems is—that the one encourages the growth of evils upon a most alarming scale, and then attempts fruitlessly to cure a few of them! While the new is a system to *prevent* the existence of the *cause* of evils, and thus save enormous expense and misery arising from their existence—

The one produces—

Ignorance
Disease
Poverty
Disunion
Vice and crime
Misery.

The other—

Intelligence
Health
Riches
Union
Morality and virtue
Happiness.

At the conclusion of the lecture the company formed themselves into groups for dancing, three excellent bands being in attendance. In the long corridor, "the gay Quadrille" was performed, while in the saloon the waltz was the prevailing dance. In another spacious room, the "merry country dance" afforded satisfaction to the votaries of l'epsichore; and during the evening several songs were sung to musical accompaniments. The "feast of reason and the flow of soul" did not terminate till one o'clock, at which time the company separated, highly gratified.

Saturday, April 29th.

ADDRESS TO GOVERNMENTS.

The Delegates assembled again this morning at nine o'clock, Mr. HIRST in the chair.

Mr. LOVETT remarked, that in proposing the resolution which he held in his hand, he was far from believing that any assistance would be rendered by Government to the cause of co-operation; but the fact of a formal Address being presented, would produce some impression on the public mind. He therefore moved—"That the Address of the Congress of Delegates of the Co-operative Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, submitted to, and unanimously approved of by a large public meeting, held at the Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn-road, on Monday, April 25th, be accordingly presented to the British and Foreign Governments; and that the following gentlemen be requested to present the same to the official organs of each:—Mr. R. Owen, Rev. Dr. Wade, Rev. Mr. Dunn, and Mr. W. Pare."

Mr. PARE seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. LOVETT proposed another resolution. To give publicity to the principles of co-operation, no better mode could be devised than petitioning Parliament. He would suggest, that all societies should adopt this mode of extending the knowledge of the co-operative system; and he would undertake that petitions from the country, transmitted to the London Council, should be duly presented to Parliament. Such petitions, if possible, should also be inserted in the provincial papers. He moved—"That this Congress urge on the Co-operators of the United Kingdom, to present their petitions to both Houses of Parliament, praying them to examine into the co-operative system, as an effectual relief for the distresses of the industrious classes; and praying them to examine at the bar of both Houses, those persons whose practice and knowledge of the subject will show its efficiency and practicability."—Carried unanimously.

Mr. OWEN communicated, that an estate suitable for the purposes of a community might be obtained, if thought desirable, at Ayesbury, in Hertfordshire. It consisted of four hundred acres of land, and adjoining it were a thousand acres, which he thought might also be obtained.

Mr. Thompson, Mr. Owen, and Mr. Bromley, were appointed to inspect the estate, and report to the congress. A deputation was likewise appointed to wait upon Mr. Morgan, of the Stock Exchange, and endeavour to effect a loan of 250,000%.

INCIPIENT COMMUNITY.

The following document was then brought up by the Committee appointed to draw it.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT FOR THE FORMATION OF A COMMUNITY, ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MUTUAL CO-OPERATION; ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS OF DELEGATES OF THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, AT THEIR THIRD SITTING IN LONDON, DURING THE LAST WEEK OF APRIL, 1832.

I.—Reasons and Principles.

WHEREAS HAPPINESS is the true object of human exertions, and the real and permanent improvement of Society must be founded on the happiness of its individual members :

Whereas the knowledge and happiness of its members will necessarily induce and perpetuate the most free and beneficial public institutions :

Whereas the splendid advances daily taking place in the mechanical and chemical Sciences, and the arts of life, however productive of increased activity and glory, must remain unproductive of their only rational object, increased happiness to mankind, until corresponding advances shall have been made in moral and social science :

Whereas the present arrangements in the most favoured regions of civilized society, far from providing for the *whole*, do not provide even for the *greater portion* of its members, the comforts and conveniences of life necessary to health and enjoyment :

Whereas, on the contrary, in the present state of society, Misery, Vice, and Crime, form a frightful and astounding aggregate, when compared with the means, which we believe we possess, of removing them and providing for the comforts, conveniences, and improvement of *all* :

Whereas these evils appear to us to originate for the most part in the system of *Individual Competition* and *Private Accumulation*, with the endless restraints and penalties, legal and social, to which they give birth, stimulating men to acquire wealth by any means, though at the expense of the labour, the happiness, and even the lives, of their fellow-creatures :

Whereas almost all the pernicious passions, vices and crimes, of society proceed from the *excessive inequality of wealth* (the inevitable effect of such Individual Competition) which entails want, ignorance, envy, anxieties, frauds, thefts, and all the other evils of poverty, on nine-tenths of mankind—and avarice, oppression, idleness, *enervat*, selfish sensuality, with all the evils of inactive repletion on the other tenth—leaving to almost none a relish for intellectual and social pleasures, founded on the tranquil and secure enjoyment of real comforts, appreciated at their real value, their power to produce happiness, compared with the trouble of producing them :

Whereas it is well ascertained that a competent number of industrious individuals can supply in abundance all the necessities and comforts of life to each other : and

Whereas it appears to us that in lieu of the existing system of Individual Competition, a system of Mutual Co-operation in the production of wealth, and of equality in its distribution, would remove the greater portion of the evils under which Society at present labours :

We, the undersigned, for these reasons engage with each other to form, as near London as practicable, an Association of Mutual Co-operation, Community of property, and Equal Means of Enjoyment.

II.—Government.

The object of the association being to promote, impartially, the greatest happiness of all its individual members, it will be essentially *self-governed* ; all its internal regulations will be formed, and its proceedings conducted by the adult members themselves, or by committees, or individuals of their appointment, periodically reporting, and periodically renewed. The period of adult age will be determined by the community.

We engage to abide in all cases by the votes of the majority ; but the majority engage never to require the concurrence of the minority in any measures but those in which the interests of the majority are incompatible with the gratification of the wishes of the minority. The majority must always consist of more than half of the adult members, men and women, of the whole association, or of its committees. But the Community will delegate no power of judging or acting to any individual or Committee which it can itself exercise without preponderant evil of delay, vexation, or expense. All its deliberative proceedings will be transacted at regular weekly, or other public meetings of all the adult members. The use of these meetings, will be to excite and preserve an universal interest in the public (the aggregate of the individual) affairs of the Community ; to keep alive the sympathy of all with all ; to inform, exercise, and improve, the intellectual faculties of all on the most interesting subjects, and to afford an efficient preventive to all abuses and misgovernment ; as well as to lead to the discovery of new truths useful to all, and to diffuse such truths, particularly on subjects of social arrangement, through society at large.—Every facility, consistent with the interests of the Co-operators, shall also be afforded to the public at large, to

investigate our arrangements, and to attend our public discussions.

The developement of Truth being progressive, and views of utility depending on increased knowledge, any of these articles, formed with a view of creating and giving life to a community, may at any time hereafter, when such community shall have been formed and in full action, be amended or changed by such majority of the Community, as above described; those articles only excepted, which imply a contract still unfulfilled by either of the contracting parties.

III.—*Preservation of Harmony.*

We hereby agree that such misunderstandings as may arise between the members of the Community, shall be settled *within* the Community by such mode of amicable arrangement as may be hereafter appointed.

IV.—*Right of Private Judgment.*

We guarantee to each other, individual freedom of opinion on all subjects of human knowledge or speculation, moral or physical, *particularly on subjects of religion*; and we will respect the individual inclinations of each other in all cases not incompatible with the general welfare, and will never exhibit anger on account of any difference of opinion.

V.—*Use of Public Halls.*

Any number of adult members exceeding thirty, shall be entitled to the exclusive use of the public rooms three hours a week, for religious or any other social purposes, on giving intimation of such wish in the proper quarter to be hereafter specified.

VI.—*Power of Withdrawing and Dismissing.*

We guarantee to each other liberty to leave the Community when we please; and we yield to the Community the self-protecting power of renouncing, at its pleasure, the co-operation of any individual. The property of the Community shall be indivisible; but the retiring members shall have the opportunity of disposing of their shares to any equal number of persons approved of by the Community, if the Community do not wish itself to purchase.

VII.—*General Intercourse with Society.*

We will afford, under regulations to be hereafter determined, pecuniary and other facilities for communication with external society, and for travelling; and we will allow such time to each other for these purposes as shall be compatible with the interest of the Community, and the pleasure of the individuals: provision shall also be made for the accommodation of the visiting friends of the members.

VIII.—*Rights of Women.*

To women, forming half the human race, equally capable with men of contributing to the common happiness, and equally capable of individual enjoyment, we guarantee eligibility equally with men to every situation within the Community, to which their individual talents, capabilities, character, and inclinations may adapt them. We also guarantee to them equal

means of acquiring knowledge and social pleasures, and of individual freedom of opinion and action, as well as an equality of property, and of the physical means of enjoyment, with men.

IX.—*Co-operation of Women.*

To secure to the Community the efficient co-operation of one half of its adult members, women; to afford them an opportunity of acquiring equal respect and sympathy, by means of equal usefulness, with men; and to give them equal facilities with men, of social intercourse and of acquiring knowledge; we guarantee to them freedom from the domestic drudgery of cooking, washing, and of heating apartments, which will be performed on scientific principles on a large economical scale, for the whole community.

X.—*Children.*

We also, with the same views, guarantee to parents the use of healthful and agreeable *dormitories*, classified, for their infants and children of all ages, with arrangements for the best developement of their mental and physical powers; experience having proved that the union and intercourse of large numbers of children of nearly the same age, are essential to this end. These advantages, however, will be optional to the parents, the children being at all times accessible to their visits and subject to their superintendence. To voluntary agents, part of the Community in rotation, aided by the kindly offices of the parents, the care of the children of all ages will be entrusted.

XI.—*Orphans.*

We guarantee to each other that the children of any person dying a member of the Community shall be equally protected, educated, and cherished, with the children of the living members, and entitled, when they become adult, to all the advantages and equal joint proprietorship thereof. In this Community, no children can be reduced to the destitution of orphans in the present state of society.

XII.—*Education.*

To all the children entering the Community, or born within it, we guarantee the best physical, intellectual, and moral education that the present state of human knowledge affords; *an advantage for which our peculiar arrangements afford facilities not to be obtained by any exertion of toil, or sacrifice of wealth, in the present state of society.* To maintain uninterrupted health during the longest possible life, and to render that life the most happy, diversified by all the innocent pleasures of sense, of active exertion, of knowledge, of sympathy and mutual beneficence, with every variety and combination of these enjoyments, will be the great objects of the general education of the whole Community. The *mode* of education, combining always practice with theory, the Community will hereafter determine. To individual parents, and those teachers in whom they confide, the teaching of their peculiar religious tenets is assured: with religious instruction the general teachers are forbidden to interfere.

XIII.—*General Employment.*

Of whatever arts or talents we may be individually possessed,

whether mental or muscular, agricultural or manufacturing, we engage to devote them to the common benefit, as well by their immediate exercise, as by communicating our skill or knowledge to each other, in whatever way the Community may hereafter deem most conducive to the happiness of the whole, whether by mental, or healthful and agreeable manual operations, of use or ornament, or by alternations of these: the time of co-operative employment shall, like other arrangements, be determined by the Community itself.

XIV.—*Variety of Employment.*

We also engage to learn, by mutual instruction, some branches of agricultural, orchard, or gardening industry; and every agriculturist engages to learn some branch of manufacturing industry.

XV.—*Domestic Services.*

All useful services, called menial, and all others to which unpleasant associations are attached, will be performed (in want of volunteers by rotation, or otherwise, from amongst the adult members,) by the youth of the community, or such portion of them, by rotation or choice, between ten and seventeen years of age, as may be necessary for the due performance thereof,

Such services being public and general, will not be liable to individual authority or controul; they will be freely given, and courteously received; they will not be rendered repulsive to the minds of youth by any false associations, but will serve them as the means of commanding the sympathy of the adult members, for whose comfort those services will be performed; they will increase the self-respect of the youth, from the consciousness of their useful co-operation for the common benefit, will serve them to repay the adult members for the support and education previously conferred upon them, and will introduce them to the pleasures of independent exertion and co-operative industry amongst those whose companions and equals they look forward to become. To themselves, also, when adults, will similar services be rendered by the rising and ever-varying youth of the community.

XVI.—*All Occupations Voluntary.*

When the community shall come into full operation, no member will be required to follow any employment injurious to his or her health, or unpleasant to his or her feelings, for never so short a time; the occupations of the community being sufficiently numerous to give free choice of employment to all. All unhealthy or repulsive occupations that cannot by machinery, chemical, or other scientific means be performed, or so modified as to be rendered no longer unpleasant, or that cannot be reconciled to health and comfort by succession of operations for a limited time, or by the voluntary efforts of particular individuals, shall be altogether banished from the community.

XVII.—*Attractions to Industry.*

Every possible means shall be employed to render *attractive* to the Members, every species of co-operative exertion, muscular or mental;—as by the beauty and ornaments of the grounds and working halls, by the society of intelligent and benevolent

co-operators pursuing a common interest, and by all such other means as the experience and increasing knowledge of the community may suggest.

XVIII.—*Amusements.*

To increase to the utmost the happiness of those unemployed hours of every day, which are not devoted to co-operative exertion, every possible facility will be afforded to the enjoyment of all social and individual pleasures of the senses, intellect, or sympathy, not followed in their consequences with preponderant evil; as by the establishment within the community, for the use of all its members, of an extensive library, museum, and theatre for the fine arts, by supplying ourselves with the best chemical, and other philosophical apparatus, and by encouraging weekly, or other periodical debates, lectures, and conversations on all subjects calculated to afford pleasure to the co-operators.

XIX.—*Fine Arts.*

Any member wishing to devote the whole, or any portion of the hours of daily mutual co-operation to painting, engraving, sculpture, music, or any other branch of the fine arts, for the use, embellishment, or amusement of the community; or, for the general advancement of the study of nature, mineral, vegetable, or animal; or of chemistry, mechanics, or any other species of intellectual pursuit, may apply for the approbation of the community or committee (as may be hereafter appointed,) so to devote the whole or any portion of his or her time, with full assurance of cordial encouragement in every useful pursuit where practicable.

XX.—*Land.*

For every individual, young or old, to be associated in this community, (the ultimate number of which we propose to be 2,000 we will purchase one acre of good land, fee-simple, and, if possible, tithe-free, and land-tax redeemed; the most indispensable object of our Association being to provide, by our mutual exertions, all the materials of food, clothing, and dwellings, necessary to perfect health and length of life. This land we will lay out and cultivate with the threefold view to health, abundant produce, and embellishment.

XXI.—*Buildings.*

We will erect, by the labour of the Associates, on the most convenient scites of our land, suitable dwellings, agricultural and manufacturing offices, public halls for meals, science, amusements, care of the sick, and all other objects deemed useful; and we will make, by associate mechanics and engineers, or will purchase, the best machinery, to abridge or facilitate labour, and to render it in every department compatible with health.

XXII.—*Private Apartments.*

To secure individual freedom of opinion and action, (one of the most essential constituents of human happiness,) every adult, man or woman, married or single, will ultimately be provided with two private rooms each, a sitting room and a bed room, of which each occupant will have the entire controul, for retirement, study, or amusement, as well as equal use of all the public

halls, grounds, and accommodations of every sort, possessed by the Community.

XXIII.—*Manufactures.*

We will practice all arts and manufactures necessary for health, and particularly those the materials of which are capable of being advantageously produced on the lands of the Community.

XXIV.—*Exchangeable Commodities.*

We will also practise, according to the situation and conveniences of our land, some particular branch or branches of industry, manufacturing or agricultural, suitable to the demands of general society, and to the acquired habits of industry of the members, for the supply, by means of exchange, of such other articles of comfort or of elegance, the use of which may afford sufficient pleasure to repay the trouble of production, and which cannot economically be produced at home, as well as to discharge the contributions falling upon us as members of general society.

XXV.—*Principles of Exchange.*

We renounce all the advantages, or, as we esteem them, all the evils of trafficking merely for pecuniary gain, we renounce *profit*, which implies living on the labour of others; all our exchanges being proposed to be for fair equivalents, representing equal labour, and destined for immediate or gradual consumption, and not for accumulation, to command the labour of other communities, or of individuals of general society. Muscular and mental activity, or both, are essential to health: the miseries and vices of idleness we are therefore determined to avoid. We shall not, therefore, become a trading and accumulating, but will be, and remain, a producing and enjoying Community; living always on our own united exertions, aided by exchanges for the increase of our enjoyments. All our fellow-creatures require, and are equally with ourselves entitled to, the use of the whole of the products of their exertions, for their own happiness. Whatever accumulations we may make, will be with a view of providing against want from unfavourable seasons or other casualties, or of affording ourselves continually increasing comforts, or of aiding our children or others of general society, in the formation of new communities. As we have associated together to avoid, in the first instance, the evils of *individual* competition, so do we foresee and renounce the evils of *collective* competition, either with other communities or with individuals, excepting so far as will be unavoidable by the sale of our surplus produce; and even this competition we will gradually abandon, so soon as other communities shall be established who may be willing to make direct exchanges with us upon the equitable principle of equal quantities of labour.

XXVI.—*Distribution of Produce.*

Food, clothing, and furniture, will be furnished to all the members from the general stores and kitchens, by regulations to be hereafter agreed upon. Meals may be taken at the public halls or in private apartments, at the option of the individual members.

XXVII.—*Health.*

Though under rational arrangements, where interest and duty are made to walk hand in hand, the now neglected *art of preserving health*, will to a great extent supersede the *trade of curing diseases*, the abundance of which becomes the interest of those who live by attending upon them; yet casualties will occur. Therefore, against the *avoidable evils* incidental to sickness, child-bearing, old age, and all other physical casualties to which individuals may be still exposed, we mutually guarantee each other. In rooms arranged by all the aids of science, guided by benevolence, or at the option of the patients in their private rooms, those members of the community whose peculiar voluntary study and occupation it will be to preserve the health of the members unimpaired, and mitigate the evils of unavoidable disease, will devote their skill and anxiety to the speedy convalescence of the afflicted. To alleviate the evils of disease, (the object next in importance to the preservation of uninterrupted health,) the community will spare no effort or expense, every member, more particularly the guardians of the public health, being directly interested in the health and well-being of every other member; as the common produce of the means of happiness must *be necessarily lessened* by the abstraction of the productive powers of any individual. With the afflicted and aged, the whole community will sympathise, as well from remembrance of past as from anticipation of future reciprocal services, and from the calm and sweet security of similar solace to themselves under similar calamities. The whole Community will be the guardians and nurses of the afflicted; particular superintendence being either voluntary or by rotation. As we are insurers to each other for the attainment of the greatest quantity of every species of happiness, so are we also insurers to each other against the approach, or for the mitigation, of every evil.

XXVIII.—*Means of obtaining the foregoing Objects.*

To accomplish these objects we propose to receive as candidates, all those who may be elected by Co-operative Societies, or who may wish to join on their own account, on condition of depositing 3*l.* each person, in the banking-house of Messrs. Prescott Grote, and Co., Threadneedle-street, London, to the account of the following gentlemen, who are hereby appointed Trustees, Messrs. Samuel Austin, John Dempsey, and Francis Trench, Esqrs., and by making up the sum of 80*l.* by such future instalments, as may be called for by the said Trustees. No part of the deposits shall be used by the Trustees, or by any other person but the Community itself for any purpose whatever, except the payment of any necessary expense, which may be incurred by the Committee appointed to take land.

XXIX.—*Children.*

Children of parents desirous of becoming members of the Community, shall be received on the following terms:—If under the age of four years, on the payment of 3*l.* 15*s.* each; between the ages of four and eight, the sum of 7*l.* 10*s.*; and between the ages of eight and fourteen, the sum of 15*l.*

XXX.—Other means furnished by Benevolent individuals.

Any benevolent individual disposed to assist in furthering this object, shall be at liberty (either on his own account or that of others) to subscribe on each share the sum of 30L. (his or their election however, to be subject to the ballot,) and if not acquainted with, and practising, such manual or mental occupations, as to be considered by the majority a useful or productive member; shall nevertheless have the use of private apartments, public buildings, furniture and every other benefit of the Community, equally with any other member; on consideration of his paying for such articles of food and clothing he may consume, at a price fixed by the Community. He shall have one vote only as any other member, and shall not be allowed to introduce servants, horses, dogs, or any thing else deemed by the Community to be inconsistent with the spirit of these regulations.

XXXI.—Funds.

As the community may require the services of some individuals who may desire to join, but have not the necessary funds, the community may borrow such sums of money as they may think fit, in order to admit such useful persons; the funds so borrowed to be repaid by the whole community. Also, if any of the candidates have machinery, stock, or implements of any kind which the members, or a committee appointed by them, may deem useful, such stock may be transferred to the community (at a valuation to be made by them,) in part payment of their shares.

XXXII.—Admission.

Every person must be ballotted for before entering the community; and in order to secure harmony and cordial co-operation, no person can be received who does not express his or her wish to join; no married person can, therefore, be received as a candidate, except his or her partner in life, together with the children (if any) *dependent* upon them, and above the age of twelve years, express their wish also to join the community, and are prepared with the necessary funds according to the scale laid down. Their individual fitness shall be inquired into, but *they shall be ballotted for as a whole family, and received or rejected together.*

XXXIII.—Neucleus of the Community.

All persons elected and supplied with funds by Co-operative Societies shall form the neucleus of the community, and shall ballot for the other candidates; they shall, however, be subject to the same kind of election by the whole. After two months' probation in the community, the ballot shall be again gone through in the same order as above, and the persons then elected shall be admitted members. Women and children will join as soon as suitable accommodations are provided, and the respective artisans, mechanics, &c. as soon as the means of productive employment are prepared for them; agriculturists, labourers; and those employed in building, being the first to occupy.

XXXIV.—Land to be taken.

As soon as one hundred persons have paid their deposits, the following gentlemen,—viz. A. J. Hamilton, Esq. of Dalziel,

N. B.; Wm. Thompson, Esq. of Cork; Wm. Bromley, Esq. and Wm. Haskins, Esq. of London,—are appointed a Committee, and authorised to take at least 400 acres of good land, as near London as practicable, either on a term of lives renewable for ever, or on a purchasing clause, and adjoining other land which may be had on the same terms. They are also authorised in conjunction with the London Council, to call the subscribers together, at such time and place as they may deem proper, when the Community will take into their own hands the regulation of all their future proceedings.

XXXV.—Deposits to be returned, if the Land is not taken in twelve months.

If the Land be not taken by the 1st of May, 1833, the Trustees shall return the money to any of the depositors who may apply for the same.

Persons wishing to join, or wanting farther information, are requested to address (post-paid) to Mr. SAMUEL AUSTIN, Institution of the Industrious Classes, Gray's Inn Road, London.—When Deposits are made, Mr. AUSTIN must be apprised of the same by letter.*

The Report was very fully discussed, and ultimately adopted.

THE NEXT CONGRESS.

It having been announced by one of the Secretaries, that the next thing claiming the attention of the Congress was the time and place for holding the next meeting, a long discussion ensued, which terminated in a resolution, that the next Congress be held on the first Monday in October, at Liverpool; and Messrs. Carson, Heaton, and Finch were instructed to make the necessary arrangements.

MISSIONARIES.

It was then proposed by Mr. STYLES, and seconded by Mr. PARE—"That the following persons being approved by this Congress, are hereby recommended to the London Council for appointment as Missionaries, so soon as they may possess the means for enabling them to become useful; viz.:—Mess. Hirst, of Huddersfield; Warden, of London; Carson, of Liverpool; Cauldwell and Lowe, of Manchester; Wigg and Simpson, of London; and the Rev. Mr. Dunn, of Wakefield Cumberworth, Yorkshire."—Carried unanimously.

The Congress then adjourned till Monday morning.

NORTH WEST OF ENGLAND CO-OPERATIVE COMPANY.

After some discussion, the following resolutions were agreed to:—"That the Agent be required to give security to the amount of 500l."—"That all societies remitting monies for

* Upwards of Thirty Shares were taken up when this went to press.

the establishment at Liverpool, for the payment of orders, do send the same to the Liverpool Banking Company's Bank, Brunswick-street, Liverpool; and that they do not send such monies to the agent direct."—"That Messrs. Carson, Hirst, Gaskell, Skevington, and Duckworth be appointed acting trustees of the North-western Trading Company."—"That the management of the business of the Liverpool establishment be left to the acting committee of the trustees, excepting in those cases in which it may be proposed that additional expenses shall be incurred."

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF CO-OPERATION.

The Congress assembled at half-past nine o'clock; and Mr. THOMPSON being called to the Chair, the following draught of the principles of co operation were submitted for adoption by the Congress:—

The congress of delegates of the co-operative societies of Great Britain and Ireland, assembled in London, and holding their meetings in the Institution of the industrious classes, for removing ignorance and poverty, have, after mature deliberation, resolved to commence a new state of society, founded on the following great principles:—

- 1st. That the character is formed for each individual.
- 2d. That it is the interest of society that the physical, intellectual, and moral character of every child should be well formed.
- 3d. That it is in the power of society to well or ill-form the character of every child not possessing organic disease.
- 4th. That the individual co-operative system is calculated to produce in the mass of the people, poverty, crime, and wretchedness, and to perpetuate ignorance and disunion among the human race, and that the experience of the world, up to the present day, demonstrates this truth.
- 5th. That the social co-operative system is eminently calculated to remove the cause of all these evils, by uniting mankind in properly devised arrangements, to re-form the human character from evil to good; by producing abundance; by making well-directed industry honorable; and, by uniting the exertions of all for the benefit of each.

Several members objected to the first proposition, "that man's character was formed *for* him, and not by himself."

Mr. OWEN expressed himself willing to remove any essential objection which might be made to the proposition, which he proceeded at some length to explain, on the ground of the absolute power of circumstances to act on the organisation, and thence form the character.

Mr. SKEVINGTON said, he objected to the clause, under consideration; that he was not sent to Congress to discuss metaphysical questions; and that his Society would not sanction or receive any document which aimed at the subversion of Christian principles.

Mr. LOVETT agreed with Mr. Skevington, that the Delegates were not sent to Congress to canvass metaphysics; but he thought that much advantage would arise if a document to which all might subscribe could be adopted.

Mr. HIRST thought the less co-operation was associated with peculiar abstract doctrines, the better. To a certain degree, all allowed that circumstances influenced the formation of character; but he, for one, denied that they had an absolute power. He felt assured that many were driven away from co-operation by supposing it to be a system of infidelity.

Mr. OWEN said, that it was essential that a fundamental doctrine should be asserted and received, or else no practical results could be ensured.

Dr. WADE, if he might be allowed, would propose an amendment, which he thought would reconcile all parties to the document under consideration. He suggested, that "under Divine Providence" should be inserted after the word "character;" which would make the passage read, "Man's character, under Divine Providence, is formed for," &c.

The amendment was then put *pro forma*, and carried; and the declaration adopted.

DELEGATES' EXPENSES.

Mr. PARE then moved the following resolution:—"That the sum of three shillings per day, from the opening of Congress to the close, be paid to each delegate attending, and that twopence per mile be paid to each delegate for defraying his travelling expenses; and that the whole of the above expenses be equally apportioned amongst the whole of the societies, regulated by their numbers and funds."

Mr. STYLES seconded the motion, which was carried, as was also the following:—"That the district committee, where the Congress may hereafter meet, be empowered to invite not more than one delegate (provided with proper credentials,) from each co-operative society—as well as such other co-operative friends they may think proper; such visitors, however, to have a voice but no vote in the meetings of the Congress."

Mr. BROMLEY next read the report of the committee appointed to inquire for land, with a view to community; which announced that, the land inspected was not suitable for the proposed object.

Mr. LOVETT suggested that there were some important statistical tables in CARPENTER'S POLITICAL MAGAZINE for May, which would form an invaluable addition to their printed report; but there appeared to be some difficulties in the way of this, and the subject was dropped.

Mr. OWEN said the result of his mission to the monied men on the stock exchange was very unfavourable. Among other

persons visited by the deputation was *Mr. Rothschild*, who advised the co-operators to get a charter from government, and that was all he could get from him. Now, if government refused the charter, what would the co-operators do? **ACT FOR THEMSELVES**, to be sure. (Cheers.)

Mr. HIRST said, Mr. Owen's statement had made him, as he was sure it would others, more determined than ever to enter a community.

Mr. PARE agreed with Mr. Hirst, and was rather pleased that the committee had met with a refusal from the capitalists to assist them; for the plain English of their words was, that they would not give a shilling to the cause.

INSTRUCTIONS TO MISSIONARIES, &c.

Mr. OWEN submitted to the Congress the propriety of laying down some general principles, to which those persons whom they had appointed as missionaries should subscribe.

Mr. THOMPSON concurred in opinion with Mr. Owen. He thought no person should preach the doctrines of co-operation until they had been examined.

Mr. LOVETT thought that at that late hour it would be inexpedient to go into any lengthened discussion. They had already agreed to fundamental principles, and to rules and regulations, sufficient to refer their missionaries to. He therefore proposed the following resolution:—

“This Congress, impressed with the importance of a unity of opinion and sentiment being promulgated by those persons they have selected as missionaries, refer them for their instruction to the fundamental principle of the co-operative system—the rules of the community, together with the basis of the co-operative trading associations, as agreed to by this Congress, and embodied in their Report; and they are hereby requested not to preach in opposition to these principles.”

Mr. HIRST seconded the motion, and said, “the declaration of principles was sufficient for all practical purposes

Mr. FINCH deprecated the introduction of any principle which seemed to imply that they were to be governed by one person. The motion was then put and carried.

Mr. LOVETT moved that the delegates of this Congress, individually and collectively, consider themselves responsible for the printing, &c. of the Report, and that they request the London Council to make arrangements for the printing and distribution of the same.”

Mr. SMITH seconded the resolution, which was carried.

Mr. LOVETT proposed, and Mr. CARSON seconded, the following:—

“That the thanks of this Congress are eminently due, and are hereby given, to Robert Owen, the Governor, as well as

to Mr. Bromley, and the council of the institution of the industrious classes, for their assistance and support in furthering the cause of this congress; and for the facilities they have afforded by the use of their extensive and splendid premises

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS ADDRESSED TO CONGRESS.

FROM THE ROCHDALE SOCIETY.

Our society wish to urge the utility of bringing the following subjects before the Congress.—First, The establishment of a co-operative woollen manufactory. As the Huddersfield cloth, Halifax and Bradford stuffs, Leicester and Loughborough stockings, Rochade flannels, &c. &c. require, in several respects similar machinery and processes of manufactures, might not these societies be brought to work together on co operative principles, and procure mutual advantages not attainable by separate establishments.—Secondly, The establishment of a practicable and permanent missionary system.

GLASGOW.

Much is doing here to remove ignorance and poverty, by the formation of Trades Unions, and we trust they will soon be induced to act upon our system; in fact, the leaders are imbued with the new views of society, and are doing all they can to convince others. As our great step towards a more extensive union here, the operatives have procured a printing press, &c. of their own, the first fruits of which has been the publication of "*The Trades Advocate*" Newspaper. Co-operative articles appear in many of its numbers, and we trust the co-operators will encourage it.—We are fully convinced of the utility of labour exchanges, and recommend to the consideration of congress the propriety of adopting a labour note to circulate among the societies, as one great step to the emancipation of the working classes from the iron grasp of capital and competition. We think a national note should be issued by congress, who might charge them to the various societies as bankers now charge their branches, and require half yearly or annual returns.

HUDDERSFIELD.

The Huddersfield co-operative society are desirous of laying before the congress the following subjects for consideration: viz. would it not be desirable that some one manufacture upon a large scale should be as soon as possible got into operation, that each society might have the produce thereof at prime cost, and in order that this may be carried into immediate execution, it would only require a certain sum of money from each society, according to their numbers. Respecting the Liverpool wholesale establishment, this society has not realized much benefit from it as yet, notwithstanding which, if proper encouragement be given to it. We feel satisfied it must eventually prove of immense utility to the co-operative world. We would therefore recommend that each society should give it their utmost support, and that all money sent to the aforesaid establishment, to go through the hands of the bank, as agreed upon by congress at Manchester. This, however, has not been strictly acted upon, and without it is, we conceive we can have no security. We also recommend, that no person be appointed to any office or situation by congress, without the sanction and recommendation of the society to which he belongs.

FROM THE OWENIAN SOCIETY, MANCHESTER.

We have discussed the principles of labour exchanges, and made out the general principles very much to our satisfaction. In fact, as far as circumstances would permit us, we have always acted upon the principle of exchange of our labour for the labour of other co-operative societies. But the moment that we associated in our discussion the banking system, in exchanges of labour, for labour among societies generally all over the kingdom, we got lost in the details, and finally the discussion was adjourned until we could gain further information. Would you impart the required knowledge the first opportunity? We would urge on all societies to have their libraries and reading rooms, to acquire as much knowledge, to communicate as much thought, to disseminate as much truth, to make known as many facts as possible.

We would direct the attention of congress to a system of organization. The time has arrived when a regulating movement has become necessary. Let us no longer suffer for want of some organization. When this is effected the results must be much more rapid, and much more striking.

FROM THE THIRD LEICESTER SOCIETY.

It is with feelings of pleasure we embrace this opportunity of addressing the congress. It is through the medium of the

collective wisdom of these assemblies, and a united exertion on the part of the societies, that we expect the downfall of oppression, and a termination of those sufferings to which so many of our industrious countrymen are subject. We are more than ever convinced that the co-operative cause stands first on the list of remedies proposed for bettering the condition of mankind. Since the last congress we have had living proofs—several of our members are making stockings for their brother co-operators, and in return we receive cloth from Huddersfield, linen, &c. from Barnsley, flannel from Rochdale, beverteens and gingham from Manchester, &c. It is to our brethren in the north that we stand indebted for trade; had it not been for their co-operative zeal, several of our numbers would have been compelled to accept a scanty pittance from the hands of a parish officer, whose frowns and cruel indignity are calculated to drive an industrious man to desperation. As poor men we have no other means of bettering our condition than by industry and frugality, consequently it is to all the societies we look for support. As brethren we are bound in one common bond, and we must not suffer that bond to be broken, but, by our united exertions, strengthen it every possible way. We are confident that much can be accomplished by an exchange of each others labour—nay, much good has been effected, but there is still room for improvement; if all societies were determined, like our brethren in Yorkshire and Lancashire, to support co-operative industry, not one poor stocking weaver would want work.

The nature of our trade is such that all societies have an opportunity of supporting us. There must be a demand for and consumption of stockings, and why not that demand upon those societies that are making the articles. As a co-operative world we must be alive to our interest, and shake off that apathy which has pervaded us.

That degree of confidence which is so essential for our well-being, must be maintained in our dealings with each other, and, as a society, we are determined to support our brethren as far as practicable, until the redemption of ourselves and fellow-creatures is accomplished.

We would recommend that the next congress be held in a more central place, as London is a great distance from the principal part of the societies; also that the general and practical business be transacted the two first days, so that the delegates may not be exposed to enormous expense. We are sorry to inform you that the present state of our funds will not allow us to send a delegate, every shilling we can spare is devoted to manufacture, as many of our members are short of work, this, we hope, will be a sufficient excuse—had it been in our power, we should have gloried in taking part with you at this important crisis.

We much hope your deliberations will tend to strengthen those social bonds by which we are united, so that an immediate blessing may be the result of your deliberations.

BARNESLEY.

The west-end co-operative society is perhaps the last one established (March 21, 1832), yet before another meeting of congress, we hope to be able to come up with some of our elder brethren. We have had several meetings since our commencement, and there appears to exist but one feeling among us, which is good will towards each other; every thing approaching to a wrangling spirit appears to be crushed, and there is a mutual giving way to each other in opinion. We have in our society linen manufacturers, bleachers, weavers, shoemakers, tailors, joiners, masons, dyers, mechanics, &c., and we can boast that we have not a drunkard, a profane, or even a disorderly man amongst us, *and herein lies our chief strength.*

FROM MR. JOHN GRAY,* EDINBURGH.

14, Brandon-street, Edinburgh,

11th April, 1832.

SIR,

I was yesterday favoured with your letter of the 6th inst., and regret that it will not be in my power to have the pleasure of witnessing your proceedings in London on the 23rd inst.

I observe, with feelings of the highest gratification, that there is a spirit of enquiry abroad which cannot fail eventually to bring about a vast change for the better, in the order of society; and it is no small evidence of the advance of rationality that larger concourses of people—yourselves to wit—are now accustomed to assemble for the purposes of discussing *measures* rather than *men*, and their own affairs instead of those of the government.

My opinions upon commercial subjects are sufficiently well known to some of the members of your committee; and are, besides, *so registered* for or against me, that it is needless to revert to them here; but I cast *shades* of difference out of the question, and offer you my most cordial approbation of your general object, and of the means you are using to attain it.

In natural affairs, and your's is natural, individuals who have to fight their own way through life can do but little; but the universe is composed of *particles*, and, encouraged by the reflection, I have no doubt of being able, from time to time—at least not to diminish the aggregate stock of means,

mental and material, which—at present accumulating—will sooner or later be applied to the purposes of social improvement.

One object mentioned in your circular I highly approve. I mean that which relates to the formation of *numerous societies*, having for their object, at least as a preliminary, the communicating with each other upon subjects of importance relating to practical measures for the improvement of the condition of man. The more numerous are such societies the more easily may useful ideas be circulated amongst mankind, and simultaneous action will one day be the result of them.

For myself, I am unconnected with any society, being a sort of stray sheep belonging to no flock, but friendly disposed towards all. However, I have given a reason for the faith that is in me, which is but fair; and, life and health being spared, I may perhaps, ere long, step farther in the same path.

Assuring you that I shall be most happy to hear a favourable report of your meeting, and of your proceedings at all times,

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

JOHN GRAY.*

FROM LORD BOSTON.

April 20, 1832.

SIR,

I deem it right to notice your Letter of April the 10th, and received by the post this morning, to prevent my appearing to be indifferent in a matter of so much importance as the subject of it embraces, and I take the opportunity of explaining the grounds upon which I must decline being present at the proposed meeting.

I may be in error with respect to the opinion which I entertain (a doubt upon the propriety of Peers of Parliament attending at any public place) to hear arguments upon subjects which may eventually be placed before them in their official characters.

Upon this principle, I have hitherto refrained from joining any county or other assemblages whatever.

When any resolutions, emanating from these intended deliberations present themselves for the due consideration of the legislature, there is not any individual Member of either of the Houses of Parliament, or in the whole country, will feel more desirous in aiding any arrangement consequent upon them, which may not merely afford a prospect of effecting, but will actually establish a system of permanent benefit to the working classes of the community.

* Author of a valuable work recently published "On the System or Principle of Exchange."

That the measures which may be brought forward at the Meetings of the 23d, and the four following days, will be canvassed in a constitutional and peaceable manner, your Circular, now before me, affords a sufficient assurance.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

BOSTON.

FROM LEIGH HUNT, ESQ.

5, York Buildings, New Road,
April 23, 1832.

SIR,

I regret extremely that unceasing avocations and ill-health prevent my attendance to-day at the meeting of the Co-operative Societies. It is no common necessity, I assure you, that withholds me—my heart is very much with you all. I believe I was the first journalist who had the honour of endeavouring to impress upon the public the propriety of considering the views of your excellent founder. Opinions might differ with regard to some of them; I, myself, did not agree with every one; but the great point was heartily to set about making some great practical efforts for the good of mankind; and I was delighted to meet with the rare spectacle of a philosopher, who was prepared to *do* as well as *talk*. People say that the ancients could do nothing, with all their philosophy; and that all human history, for six thousand years, traditional and otherwise, is only a record of man's wishes to be better off than he is, and his inability to be so. But the ancients, Sir, had no *Press*, as we have, to give every one the benefit of every other person's thought and co-operation—to write, as it were, the wishes of the whole family of mankind on the sky at noon-day; and as to six thousand years,—long and serious as the pains has been that have been mixed up with their better days,—what are six thousand years compared with the vast epochs of time which lie before us, and for which the unceasing yearnings after amelioration, during those years, ought surely to be considered rather as a proof that something *will* be done, than that it will *not*? Why does Nature make us fresh uneasiness at any time, but to invite us to get into its opposite state of ease? And is this principle to hold good in the smallest cases, and not in those of the greatest importance? Six thousand years are but as a dot in the space of time; and those who, from the history of that little speck, would pronounce upon all that is to happen during the boundless future, surely make the most wonderful judgments upon a very small assumption. To me, the incessant desire of the human race to be better off in their moral and social relations, is only a proof

that the better condition is to be attained by the very instinct of the desire ; and it is a great consolation, meanwhile, to think, that if no classes of society are so happy as they might be in their present state, the reason is, that none ought to be happy till all are so, lest their joint efforts should never come perfectly into play. As to the religion of the question, which by no means need be left out in this point of view, where is the religion upon earth, that does not invite men to be better and happier in this world, as well as in the next? Christianity, of all religions, as being the most sympathetic, eminently encourages them to be so ; and its most unbounded believers are of all men the least justified in opposing the progress of society, or even its perfectibility ; for they themselves preach it, when they preach the millennium. Let us recollect what was said by a wise man with regard to the supposed contradiction between the claims of this life and a future one ; that it would be a very strange and ungrateful thing if we behaved ourselves gloomily or indifferently in a beautiful garden which some friend gave us, because by and by he promised us a better. It surely is impossible to look well at this garden the earth, and at all its fellow-stars in the sky, and not believe that all were created to be happy, though perhaps, the happiness of each is of such a nature as can only be worked out through the experience, and endeavours, of the creatures to whom the instinct is imparted for that purpose. Pardon, Sir, the time I have taken up, very superfluously, I fear, with this letter ; but in the heartiness of my sympathy with the endeavours of my friends, I could not help pouring myself forth a little, and touching upon some of the chief imaginary obstacles in the way of universal effort.

I am, Sir,

With many thanks for the honor the Committee have done me,
Their most obliged and obedient Servant,

LEIGH HUNT.

To Mr. J. D. Styles, &c. &c.

LETTER FROM DR. WADE TO THE EDITOR OF THE "STANDARD."

SIR,—Having seen in your paper a letter to the Rev. Dr. Wade, relative to the new Association, lately formed, to remove ignorance and poverty by education and employment ; and as that letter is calculated to prejudice weak minds against the best parts of the practical measures intended to be acted upon by the Association, in order to remove ignorance and poverty, and consequently vice from society, the Governor, Directors, and Committee of the Association, having no other object in view than the permanent good of all classes in this and every other country, request you to insert the inclosed letter from Dr. Wade, which they consider a full reply to every thing that can be written upon a subject so calculated to mislead and irritate the human mind at this moment, when it is the most necessary to create

union and harmony to save our common country from violence and ruin.

I am, Sir,

In the name of the Association,

Your most obedient Servant,

ROBERT OWEN, Governor.

Institution of the Industrious Classes,
near the King's Cross, New Road,
13th Jan. 1832.

London, 12, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, Dec. 29.

Sir,—In reply to your letter of remonstrance, I beg to say, I respect the opinions and feelings of every conscientious person, whatever may be his religious creed; and being deeply interested in the prosperity of the Church of England, whose tolerant doctrines I admire, whilst I at the same time wish to see a reform in the discipline and temporal abuses in it, I must confess that I think the uncalled-for denunciations and intolerant spirit you displayed on the 19th inst., at the meeting for improving the intellectual and moral condition of the industrious classes, was more suited to the character of a persecutor than of a reconciler of man to his brother man, and of mankind in general to Christianity.

Our blessed Lord, when he asked the woman of Samaria for a draught of water, condescendingly evinced how much he approved of industrious habits in the humbler classes; and in his conversation explained to her that no religious differences were to prevent the mutual interchange of good offices.

Why should we abandon the benevolent practice of the Divine Founder of our faith, who went about doing good, by refusing the industrious classes of our day any good in our power to bestow, on account of differences in religious opinions?

Persecution has had its trial and failed: it only made men hypocrites or slaves. The holy bonds of the gospel are those of righteousness, charity, peace, friendship, mutual forbearance, and love—not the galling chains of slavery and ignorance. Your objection to have the working classes taught literature and science, unless with a fettered conscience, is to wage war with rational religion itself, of which these are the handmaids. Your further desire to prevent them using the talents, whether few or many, which God has given them, is to take upon yourself a responsibility greater than that of the timid and slothful servant, who offended his master by churlishly withdrawing his solitary talent from the public service, and hiding it in the earth. In the heat of your zeal for the Church of England, you forget that she herself prays for the widest separatists from her communion, and would not force them into her fold by severity and reviling, but lead the way by kindness and the removal of all ignorance. The very circumstance of my being called to the chair at the London Bazaar Meeting, demonstrates that there was no hostility to religion or to the church of England. The meeting only adopted the principle of not giving offence to any sects or parties by extend-

ing liberty of opinion to all, for the sake of obtaining the greatest amount of social and moral happiness to mankind in general, and to the industrious classes in particular.

Why then, should you or I, who have so many other opportunities of disseminating our own peculiar tenets, be such niggards of our benevolence, such bigots in our sentiments, as to deprive our poorer neighbours of the valuable assistance of their rich and enlightened brethren if they will not submit to our dictation as to the means to be pursued?

To act thus, is a sort of spiritual Quixotism, a zeal without knowledge or discretion—it indicates a spirit very different from that of genuine Christianity, whose badge is peace and good-will to all men. The domination you recommend to be exerted every where and upon all occasions, would render us backsliders in humility, and robbers of, instead of benefactors to, the public weal, whether religious or moral, intellectual or political. Let me in my turn, and reciprocating all your courteous phraseology, advise you to grant that liberty to others which you demand for yourself. I entreat you not to put it on as a cloak for maliciousness, but, contrariwise, that when you attend meetings called for charitable purposes, men may see your good works and glorify your Father which is in heaven. Do not abuse our liberty by making any endeavours, however feeble or fruitless, to damp the humane feelings of hundreds of individuals of both sexes, all classes, and various opinions—attacking indiscriminately those of your own and other creeds, because they co-operate as one great family, to relieve the necessities of those who, however willing and well-disposed, are not able to provide sufficiently for themselves.

In conclusion, permit me to mention that I have good reason to believe that the late Sir Samuel Romilly and Lady Romilly, were most favourable to Mr. Owen's plan for generally employing and educating the poor, and so were the late Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Durham, as well as his late Royal Highness the Duke of Kent.

Wishing, therefore, that you may not wrest the excellent text quoted in your letter, to light the fires of theological hatred, and pervert what was intended by a beneficent Creator for the benefit of all to the injury of any; but rather, that you may betake yourself to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the Holy Scriptures for the sake of your own improvement in religious knowledge and practice, I have the honour, sir, to remain a sincere well-wisher to freedom of conscience to all, to the temporal and eternal happiness of the working classes, and your very obedient, humble servant,

ARTHUR S. WADE, D. D.

To Edmund L. L. Swifte, Esq.,
Jewel-house, Tower, London.





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